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CENTENNIAL LITERATURE



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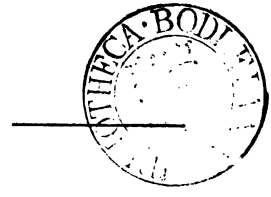
NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FEBRUARY 6, 1866,

BY

JOHN F. AIKEN.

WITH SELECTED NOTES.



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TO

EMILIO CASTELAR,

OF SPAIN;

STATESMAN, SCHOLAR, AND ORATOR;

FRIEND OF AMERICA, OF LIBERTY, AND OF HUMAN PROGRESS;

THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR,

WITH THE EARNEST WISH THAT HIS ARDUOUS EFFORTS FOR THE

WELFARE OF HIS COUNTRY MAY ERELONG,

UNDER THE SMILE OF HEAVEN, BE ATTENDED WITH AN ABUNDANT

AND GLORIOUS HARVEST.

At a stated meeting of the New York Historical Society held in its Hall, on Tuesday evening,

The paper of the evening, entitled, "THE HISTORY OF LIBERTY," was read by Mr. John F. Aiken.

On its conclusion, the Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., submitted the following resolution, which was adopted :—

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Aiken for his interesting paper, read this evening, and that a copy be requested for the archives of the Society.

[Extract from the minutes.]

ANDREW WARNER,
Recording Secretary.

"I saw the expectant nations stand
To catch the coming flame in turn;
I saw from ready hand to hand
The clear though struggling glory burn.

And oh! their joy as it came near,
'Twas in itself a joy to see,
When Fancy whispered in my ear,
That torch they pass is Liberty!"

MOORE.

"Thou, too, sail on, O ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great,
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
. . . . . .
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee,—are all with thee!"

LONGFELLOW.

PREFACE.

It is now an acknowledged fact that nowhere among all the nations is there so great a degree of liberty as in the United States. To say this is not to speak boastingly, but truthfully, of our country. Yet this is the result of centuries of trial and experience, for all the conflicts against tyranny in Europe, whether successful or unsuccessful, have been preparing the way for the growth of "the fair consummate flower" of freedom upon this Western Continent, which shall shed its fragrance over the world.

In the following pages I have endeavored to show the various experiences through which different nations have passed where freedom has struggled for development; how great eras have powerfully affected the condition of the world, especially the Christian era, and the era of the Reformation, and also the influence of great and successful wars for human rights upon several nations;

That the fierce struggle in the Netherlands for

civil and religious liberty, and the consequent rise and prosperity of the Dutch Republic, prepared the way for the Great Rebellion, which roused England from the slumber of ages, and that for the bloodless, but most important revolution of 1688, with its unnumbered blessings;

That all of these animated our ancestors in the Revolutionary war which, when successful, reacted favorably upon Europe;

That in the late terrible struggle for liberty, and the rights of man, the love of freedom, imbibed from our forefathers, enabled us to crush a gigantic rebellion whose corner-stone was slavery, and which, if it had been successful, would have destroyed "this last best hope of earth;"

And lastly, that the result of this war has animated with new zeal the lovers of freedom in Europe so that we already see important changes taking place there.

It has also been my object to show that under favorable influences our own beloved America will be the most prosperous, happy, and useful of nations.

I have striven to depict the characters of certain benefactors of their race, in the mild lustre of whose unselfish greatness the triumphs of those who have won a name by trampling upon their fellow mortals seem mean and contemptible. Napoleon the Third in

the preface of his life of Julius Cæsar says: "If the precepts of faith raise our soul above the interests of this world, the lessons of history in their turn inspire us with the love of the beautiful and the just, and the hatred of whatever presents an obstacle to the progress of humanity." This elevated sentiment with which the policy of the late French Emperor but ill accorded, contains the true philosophy of history.

It will be seen that in the appendix I have endeavored to bring the history of liberty down to the present time by means of historical notes concerning the progress of freedom in Europe, and in this country since the rebellion. The other notes which I have gathered and which are mostly selected, may be considered as explanatory and supplementary.

It has been my desire to collect together in the appendix such items of interest, and such wholesome sentiments as would stimulate a true patriotism and afford information of an agreeable and suggestive nature, and especially of a practical value to the lover of his country and of human progress, thus bringing the history of liberty home to the hearts and consciences of men.

The selections are all marked as quotations. The articles containing information obtained by me from some reliable source have the authority beneath. I have ventured to insert, in most ex-

cellent companionship, as the reader will observe, an article of my own, concerning the late meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, in the form of letters published in the Vermont Chronicle. May not the Evangelical Alliance and the Centennial Exposition, those two national events of such universal interest though so entirely unlike, be regarded as commemorative, the first of religious and the last of civil liberty, while the second Peace Jubilee was a grand international rejoicing over the triumph of freedom in America. In treating a subject so vast and comprehensive and so soul-inspiring as the progress of freedom, it seemed to me not inappropriate to make use of the oratorical rather than the essay style.

With the hope that our republic, now one hundred years old, may exist for centuries, and that all the bright dreams and anticipations concerning its future prosperity and greatness may be realized, but feeling that this will depend much upon us of the present generation, I send forth this humble tribute to the priceless value of liberty, hoping that it may help in some slight degree to perpetuate our free institutions.

Pawlet, Vermont. J. F. A.

HISTORY OF LIBERTY.

WHAT is Liberty? Is it an ideal state of being, of a purely ethereal and intangible nature, to be reasoned about and imagined, but never to be enjoyed? Is it some merely practical and material thing, to be obtained by the labor of the hands, and the ordinary workings of the mind? No! It is an elevated condition, the offspring of a sublime principle implanted in the human breast, which being cultivated and fostered, renders man capable of self-government, and makes a state, which is but an aggregate of individuals, able to endure perils from without and from within.

Behold yonder temple as it slowly rises in beauty and majesty. Long has it been in building. Stone after stone of marble hewn from the quarry, transported from a distance, chiseled with great labor, has been laid on the wall with the nicest care. Stone after stone has been set in its appropriate place without effecting any perceptible change either in the

height or beauty of the structure. Still it rises, and grows in symmetry with every stone.

So it is with the temple of liberty in the hearts of men. Every noble deed for the welfare of the human race, every generous action toward the downtrodden and oppressed, every just decision in favor of the natural and inalienable rights of man, is a polished stone, set in its appropriate place, and contributing to the height and beauty of that lofty and glorious edifice. To the student of history what can be more instructive than to trace the progress of liberty; to the historian and orator what more beneficial than to exhibit it to the admiration of their fellow men; to the philosopher what more elevating than to meditate upon and inquire into its relations to the onward march of civilization; to the poet what more inspiring than to drink from so pure a fountain, what more ennobling than to sing of such a theme; to the patriot what more interesting than to witness its struggles, what more satisfying than to behold its triumphs?

As the Vestal fire in Ancient Rome was by careful watchfulness kept ever burning, so this heaven-born flame of liberty descending to us from our fathers, through many a scene of conflict, from many a hardship and distress, and defended by their descendants of the present generation on hundreds of

battle-fields yet moist with their blood, should be fostered in our hearts by knowledge and by meditation.

Thus shall we be better able to appreciate in some degree, its value to ourselves, to our country and to the world, and thus shall we be better able to understand its elevated and its elevating nature.*

In the Declaration of Independence our patriotic ancestors thus expressed their views, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness: to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

It would seem as if no truths ought to be more apparent to the mind than these, and yet nearly eighteen centuries have elapsed since the light of Christianity dawned upon the world, and two-thirds of the human race still remain without any knowledge of freedom, while even in some of the most enlightened nations liberty has been of slow growth, and in none has it reached its maturity.

* On the Thursday evening previous to the reading of this paper, Rev. Dr. Samuel Osgood read a valuable paper upon the character and influence of Washington.

The most ancient form of society and of civil government was that of the family. It is reasonable to presume that a large degree of true freedom existed under this method. With the increase of the race liberty does not seem to have made a proportionate advance, but to have degenerated into license, so that at the time of the flood it scarcely had an existence. After the earth was repeopled the spirit of liberty revisited it, appearing among the Jews, Greeks and Romans.

Under the rule of their divinely appointed leaders the Jews had undoubtedly a good degree of freedom, and not until they had proved themselves unworthy of it did it depart from them. Here indeed is the only example of religious liberty furnished us by any of the nations of antiquity.

How much political and individual liberty there was in the republics of Greece, it is somewhat difficult to state. In Attica there was probably a greater degree than in any of the other Grecian states.

This is attributable to the constitution framed originally by Solon, and made still more popular by Clisthenes. Let us rapidly trace the progress of freedom here.

The first advance was made by the appointment of a ruler called the archon, who took the place of the king. The archonship was first filled by the

royal family and held for life, then for ten years and finally thrown open to the nobles generally, the number of archons increased to nine, and the period reduced to one year. It was during the archonship of Solon that the constitution of Athens underwent a decided change, the results of which have affected civilization, producing an intellectual development, which has been the admiration of succeeding ages. To this broad and free development of the Grecian mind are attributable those works of philosophy and poetry, those wonders of art, and that power of eloquence which so preëminently distinguished the Athenian Commonwealth. The Grecian states, though bound together by many strong ties, such as language, blood, common religious rites and festivals, which caused them to unite for mutual defence in the time of the Persian invasions, being under different governments, were frequently engaged in intestine strifes. Had this been otherwise, and had all Greece been one republic, it might have continued longer.

Yet we cannot be too grateful for the example of Greece. The names of Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Salamis, those ancient battle-grounds of freedom, where the tide of invasion and barbarism was resisted and turned back, will ever be remembered by the lover of liberty with enthusiasm and gratitude.

Miltiades. Themistocles and Aristides, Leonidas

and Epaminondas, Pericles and Demosthenes will be known and honored while patriotism and eloquence are held in regard.

Next in order of time came the Roman republic. As at Athens, it succeeded a monarchy. Its history is mainly an account of the struggles between the aristocracy and the people, the patricians and the plebeians.

In this struggle the plebeians gradually gained ground, until finally they obtained nearly an equal share in governing the state. The tribuneship, quæstorship and consulate, all offices of extensive authority, and the latter the highest in the republic, were by degrees thrown open to them, also admission to the senate, permission to intermarry with the patricians, and to hold the highest priestly offices of Pontificate and Augurate. In the year B. C. 300 a law was passed called the Ogulnian law, which permitted them to hold these latter offices.

The passage of this law is considered the establishment of the Roman Constitution.

"What is called the Constitution of Rome," says Arnold, "as far as regards the relations of patricians and plebeians to each other, was in fact perfected by the Ogulnian law and remained for centuries without undergoing any material change. By that law the commons were placed on a level with

the patricians, and the contests between these two orders were brought to an end forever." About the close of the Punic wars, which ended with the destruction of Carthage, the Roman republic obtained its greatest power, and its inhabitants their highest degree of freedom. In the great civil wars between Marius and Sylla the social privileges of the citizens were to a considerable degree overthrown and were never fully recovered. After Cæsar died and the empire was established, the people obtained only a nominal power. How highly the privilege of Roman citizenship was once regarded is well expressed by Shakespeare:

"To be a Roman once, was greater than to be a king." When, during the latter years of the republic, Verres, the prætor of Sicily, was tried at Rome for numerous offences, one of which was causing an innocent Roman citizen to be crucified, Cicero, who was prosecuting him, and who was then a young man, as he thought of the proud position of a Roman citizen in former years, and of the demoralization which had succeeded, causing even the highest privileges to be often disregarded, exclaimed in sadness, "O Liberty, once sacred, now trampled upon!"

What a commentary is it upon the condition of ancient Rome that the Gracchi, one of the Scipios,

Pompey, Cæsar, Cato, and Cicero, all fell by the hand of violence.

The republics of Greece and Rome, though they have had a mighty influence in all succeeding ages, have proved conclusively that liberty cannot exist in full and lasting vigor, and beauty, without Christianity.

Soon after the fall of the Roman republic, the most remarkable events which ever took place in the history of the world, and those most important to the interests of humanity occurred: the advent and death of the Saviour. At the latter period nearly the whole world was under the sway of an arbitrary and cruel tyrant, and liberty had forsaken the earth.

Then dawned a new era, and men experienced that greatest freedom than which all other is comparatively valueless, freedom from sin, for,

> "He is a freeman whom the truth makes free
> And all are slaves beside."

But the darkness did not greatly disappear until the ground was moist with the blood of myriads of believers.

During the second century of the Christian era a certain degree of liberty prevailed, as at that time the empire of Rome with its hundred million of inhabitants was under a mild rule.

But this did not last more than eighty years,

when despotism and effeminacy again took possession of it, and its decline commenced.

About the beginning of the fifth century the barbarians from the North made incursions into Italy. Soon, like an avalanche, they poured down over its fertile plains sweeping everything before them.

The genius of liberty having passed away from Rome, that power which had ruled the world for centuries at last gave way.*

A second epoch now appears, the rise of the Empires of the Barbarians. The world would then have been sunk in the darkness of ignorance, and degradation had it not been for the light of Christianity. That light however shone for a long time but feebly, though much of Europe became nominally Christian, and the barbarians bowed before the cross.

Let us take a cursory glance at the history of liberty in some of the countries of Europe during this formative period of society.

When Julius Cæsar invaded England, it was inhabited by a brave race called Britons. It was not long afterwards invaded by the Angles, Jutes and Saxons.

These tribes were in time overcome by the Normans, who brought with them the feudal system.

* The seat of empire had been removed to Constantinople in the early part of the fourth century.

The first national assembly in England, that we have any record of, is the Wittenagemote, or great council of the Saxons. We have no accurate knowledge of the duties of this council, nor how it was gradually changed into the parliament.*

Shortly after the Conquest by the Normans, this great council ceased to exist, but fortunately emergencies sometimes arose, when it was necessary for the sovereign to call together certain influential ones among his subjects, for the purpose of deciding disputed points, and upon them a material part of its duties devolved. This separate court from out the Wittenagemote was called the Aula Regis or Hall of the King, as the King had the sole power of convoking it. Fortunately he never dared to entirely relinquish it, as by so doing he would necessarily have offended the barons, who being six hundred in number, and holding under the feudal system much of the territory of England, were necessarily very powerful.

At the time of the Conquest the prerogative of declaring peace and war was assumed by the Crown, but the Wittenagemote, which existed for some years

* "The Wittenagemote of the Saxons was the assembly of wise men; and was composed of the nobles, high prelates, and great landholders. The Mickelgemote (or great assembly) was the general assembly of the nation. These assemblies are considered by many authors as the foundation of the present British Parliament."—*R. G. Parker's Outlines of History.*

after that period, retained the important prerogative of taxation. This right, which, though not always regarded by the sovereign, was virtually acknowledged by him, rendered him at times dependent upon his subjects for supplies to carry on war, and was thus the greatest safeguard of their liberties.

In the reign of king John, the great charter of freedom called the Magna Charta, was forced from that weak and tyrannical monarch by a combination of barons. It begins with these words: "John, by the grace of God king, (here follows a list of the nobles to whom it was addressed, and his other faithful subjects,) "know ye that for the health of our soul and by the advice of, (here sundry persons are enumerated) we have granted and confirmed for us and our heirs forever." It is a fact worthy of notice that all the rights and privileges, which were conceded by John in the Magna Charta, can be traced back to Anglo-Saxon times. This charter was executed by the king in the presence of his barons, at Runnymede, on June 15, 1215.

Its most famous sentence reads thus: "No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or anyways injured, nor shall we sentence, nor allow him to be sentenced, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." These are some of the general provisions

of the Magna Charta: It confirmed the liberties of the church, prohibited unlawful punishments, established the right of the owner of personal property to dispose of it by will, protected merchants, guarded against delays and denials of justice, appointed assizes and circuits for the trial of causes, and asserted and confirmed the liberty of the city of London, and all other cities, boroughs, towns, and parts of the kingdom from which political freedom afterwards spread as from so many centres. From this allusion to cities and towns, it is evident that the barons were not alone in their demands, but that the burgesses or representatives of the cities and towns united with them. One noticeable feature of these times and very conducive to the spirit of liberty, was the rise of free cities, which weakened the power of the barons, and gradually undermined the feudal system that had existed for so long a time.

The most noticeable clause in the Magna Charta reads thus: "We will sell to no man, we will not deny or delay to any man right or justice." This Charter would have been of no lasting benefit to our English ancestors had it not been carefully guarded by them, and had they not caused it to be ratified by subsequent charters.

This was a very important period in the history of England, for had our ancestors allowed the flick-

ering flame of liberty once to expire, they or their descendants might never have been able to rekindle it.

"These charters," says Sir William Blackstone, "from the first concession under King John, had been often endangered and undergone many mutations for the space of near a century, but were fixed in the 29th of Edward the Second upon an eternal basis, having in all, before and since this time, as Sir Edward Coke observes, been established, confirmed and commanded to be put in execution by two and thirty several acts of parliament."

When the liberties of England were threatened in later times, Hampden and other patriots often cited them.*

* *The Thirteenth Century of English History.*—The sources of the noblest rivers which spread fertility over continents, and bear richly laden fleets to the sea, are to be sought in wild and barren mountain tracts incorrectly laid down in maps, and rarely explored by travellers. To such a tract the history of our country during the thirteenth century may not inaptly be compared. Sterile and obscure as is that portion of our annals, it is there that we must seek for the origin of our freedom, our prosperity and our glory.

Then it was that the great English people was formed, that the national character began to exhibit those peculiarities which it has ever since retained, and that our fathers became emphatically islanders, islanders not merely in geographical position, but in their politics, their feelings and their manners. Then first appeared with distinctness that constitution which has ever since, through all changes, preserved its identity; that constitution of which all the other

We have seen that the people of England by their national assemblies preserved a most important prerogative that of taxation. In France the case was different.*

free constitutions in the world are copies, and which in spite of some defects deserves to be regarded as the best under which any great society has ever yet existed during many ages. Then it was that the House of Commons, the archetype of all the representative assemblies which now meet, either in the Old or in the New World, held its first sittings."—*Macaulay's History of England.*

Great changes silently effected.—It is remarkable that the two greatest and most salutary social revolutions that have taken place in England, that revolution which in the thirteenth century, put an end to the tyranny of one nation, and that revolution which a few generations later, put an end to the property of man in man, were silently and imperceptibly effected.

They struck contemporary observers with no surprise and have received from historians a very scanty measure of attention. They were brought about neither by legislative regulation nor by physical force. Moral causes noiselessly effaced, first the distinction between Norman and Saxon, and then the distinction between master and slave. None can venture to fix the precise moment at which either distinction ceased.—*Macaulay's History of England.*

The Crusades have been generally regarded as conducive to the welfare of society, though Gibbon, in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," and Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," take the opposite view.

* "Parliaments were first introduced into France by Philip IV. (surnamed the Fair), in the beginning of the fourteenth century. This may be considered as the dawning of civil liberty in France."

"The States-General consisted of three orders—the

There was also a crisis in the constitutional history of that country at about the same period as in England, and during the reign of a monarch of the same name. Before this, however, there occurred a remarkable event which affected the future welfare of Europe as the battle of Gettysburg has that of

clergy, the nobility, and the commons. The last of these orders was called "Tiers Etat:" they were in fact the representatives of the people. They were first called into the councils of the government by Philip XIV., (A. D. 1303) but were subjected to great humiliation. While the clergy and nobility were seated, the Tiers Etat, or Commons, were obliged to stand outside of the bar, and to receive and answer the proposition of the king on their knees."—*R. G. Parker.*

"The regal prerogative was extremely limited under the Merovingian princes. The general assembly of the nation had the right of electing the sovereign, and the power of legislation. Under the Carlovingian race the authority acquired by Pepin and Charlemagne sunk to nothing in the hands of their weak posterity; and though the crown had ceased to be elective, the regal dignity was a mere shadow. . Under the third or Capetian race the crown acquired more weight, and many of the sovereigns exerted a proper spirit in restraining the power of the nobles, and in punishing their lawless outrages. To balance the weight of the aristocracy Philip the Fair, introduced the third estate of the national assemblies, which for above four centuries had consisted only of the nobles and clergy. The chief power of the state began now to shift to the scale of the monarch. The national assembly interfered rather to ratify than to decree; and in the fifteenth century the right of legislation was understood to reside wholly in the crown. The right of taxation seemed to follow of course. The assemblies or states-general were now rarely convened, and from the reign of Louis XIII. were discontinued."—*Tytler's History.*

America. It was the great battle of Tours, in which Charles Martel drove back and routed the Mohammedans, who had crossed the Mediterranean and were ravaging the country with fire and sword. This battle had a most important influence upon the history of liberty, for here contended Christianity and Paganism, Civilization and Barbarism, Freedom and Slavery. The States-General, the national assemblies of France, which had succeeded to the assemblies of the field appointed by Charlemagne, passed laws limiting the royal authority, and retaining to themselves the power of taxation. As the result a terrible revolution occurred, and when the people had been for a time triumphant, they suffered reverses and the former government was restored in a more arbitrary form than before. Let us now compare the subsequent condition of these two nations.

In France everything was submitted to the will of the king, and the national assemblies never regained the power which they had lost. This accounts for the past and present condition of the French people. In England, on the contrary, the national assemblies never entirely lost their importance. The Wittenagemote, or great council of the Saxons, was succeeded by the Aula Regis, or Court of the Normans, this by parliament, and the latter,

by the assemblies of the lords and commons in two distinct houses.

But to continue:—At a later period there was another contest in France between the king and the States-General, which resulted in the same manner as the former, and for some years afterwards French history presents a most appalling picture.

The most fatal measure which was taken by the crown to destroy the liberties of the people, was the establishment of a military force, and the allotment of a perpetual tax for its support. After this the people ceased to struggle. There were no more meetings of the States-General, and all hope of constitutional liberty departed.

Well has Shakespeare depicted the condition of France at this time:

> "Alas poor country,
> Almost afraid to know itself! where nothing
> But who knew nothing were once seen to smile."

There was one remarkable opportunity which, if the French had been prepared for liberty, they would readily have embraced. It was when Charles the Seventh preserved his crown through the wonderful appearance upon the scene of action of the Maid of Orleans. During the second invasion of France by the English, the French king, by reason of his ill fortune in war, was closely besieged within the walls of

Orleans, and was about yielding to despair, when Joan of Arc appeared in armor at the head of a band of troops, her beautiful hair waving in the wind, her soldiers' bonnet surmounted by white plumes, and bearing in her hand the sword of St. Catharine. At this lovely and heroic sight unbounded enthusiasm seized upon the French. Victory followed. The might of England bowed before the conquering steel of the brave woman, and the gates of Orleans were thrown open, not to admit a besieging foe, but that La Pucelle might triumphantly conduct the king to Rheims where he was soon after crowned in her presence.

Joan of Arc had finished her mission and was now to enjoy her reward. She had served her king and her country. Her own life was to be the sacrifice. Having been taken prisoner she was tried on the charge of sorcery, condemned, and burned. She died in the twenty-first year of her age. At the time of the coronation of Charles, the people of France had a golden opportunity to obtain their liberties.

We will now trace briefly the early history of liberty in Spain, Germany, Italy and Switzerland.

Spain, strange as it may seem, had at an early period great love of liberty. In her national assembly, the Cortes, which was possessed of extensive

authority, not only the barons appeared, but also representatives from the towns. This seems to have been about the form of compact between the nobles and the king: "We who are each of us as good and who are altogether more powerful than you, promise obedience to your government, if you maintain our rights and liberties; if not, not." While in that section of Spain called Castile there was a Cortes, in Arragon there was also a Supreme judge called Justiza, the guardian of the people and the controller of the prince, but who was himself controlled by the Cortes. Thus during a large part of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both Castile and Arragon were limited monarchies, and the power of the crown was really too limited.* Hence there arose a long continued struggle either secret or open between the people and the barons on one side, and the crown on the other, which finally resulted in the establishment of an arbitrary government.

In Italy during the first six centuries after the fall of the Roman empire, the barbarians and degenerate Italians commingled, and from this union arose

* "In A. D. 1283, Peter the Third, king of Arragon, compelled by popular clamor for liberty, granted an instrument called the General Privilege, the provisions of which were more decided in favor of freedom, and more opposed to arbitrary power than even those of the great Charter of England which was signed sixty eight years before, and which unlike the former has borne fruit until the present time."

a new nation. Afterwards republics sprang up in different parts of Italy, by reason of the spirit of commerce which was friendly to liberty. These republics continued from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, and rendered that country famous for art, science, and letters.

In 1530 Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany and king of Spain, conquered Italy, and liberty was for centuries cramped and dwarfed.*

The government of Germany was originally a monarchy elective and limited. By the Constitution of that country called the Golden Bull, the king was only the nominal head of a powerful aristocracy.

* *Of the ancient Constitution of the Scottish Government.* "—The legislative power, though nominally resident in the parliament, was virtually in the king, who by his influence entirely controlled its proceedings. The parliament consisted of three estates, the nobles, the dignified clergy, and the less barons, who were the representatives of the towns and shires. The disposal of benefices gave the crown the entire command of the churchmen, who were equal to the nobles in number; and at least a majority of the commons were the dependents of the sovereign. A committee termed the lords of the articles, prepared every measure that was to come before the parliament. By the mode of its election this committee was in effect nominated by the king."—*Tytler's History.*

In the early history of Scotland the names of William Wallace and of Robert Bruce, have a romantic charm as heroes of the liberty of their country. Centuries later the reformed religion, taking deep root in Scotland, made that country a bulwark of religious liberty.

This condition of things, though not unfavorable to the spirit of liberty in that kingdom, dissipated and divided its strength so far as resistance to foreign nations was concerned. The tyrannical and bigoted House of Austria was a branch of the Germanic Confederation.

Switzerland is a name which every lover of freedom repeats with enthusiasm. About the commencement of the fourteenth century, a portion of this mountainous aud romantic country, asserted its independence of the House of Austria. Relying upon God, the brave Swiss prepared to meet the insolent and haughty foe, who were advancing under Duke Leopold to extirpate the whole nation. As an avalanche sweeps down from the Alps carrying destruction and desolation in its course, so this band of brothers, rushing down from their mountain homes, threw themselves upon the mailed warriors of Austria, and in the battle of Morgarten drove back, routed and destroyed their enemies. They first formed a confederation consisting of the States called the three Forest Cantons. Into this confederacy they gradually admitted other states, until in the course of two centuries the number was increased to thirteen. This was called the Helvetic Confederacy.

Seventy-one years after the battle of Morgarten, another Austrian army invaded Switzerland under

the command of another Leopold, but met with a similar fate as the first near Sempach. The battle had been long contested, and the small band of heroes had begun to despair, when a knight of Underwalden, Arnold Winkelreid, willing to sacrifice himself for his country, rushed forward exclaiming, "I will open a passage, provide for my wife and children, dear countrymen and confederates. Honor my race." Grasping several Austrian pikes in his outstretched arms he buried them in his bosom, and bore them down with him in his fall. Thus a breach was opened in the bristling ranks, and the Swiss, charging impetuously over the body of their fallen leader, routed the enemy.

"Make way for liberty, he cried,
Then ran with arms extended wide
As if his dearest friend to clasp.
Ten spears he swept within his grasp,
Make way for liberty, he cried,
Their keen points met from side to side;
He bowed among them like a tree
And thus made way for liberty."

The Confederacy of the Swiss Cantons, though by no means faultless, existed for nearly four centuries afterwards in security and honor.

Having thus briefly considered the history of liberty during the dark and a portion of the middle ages, we will notice its condition, its struggles, and its

steady growth after the revival of learning in Europe had enlightened the mind, and the Reformation had cleansed the heart.

During the former period, namely, that of the revival of learning, which followed and was a result of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in which, though most valuable libraries were destroyed, the scholars of the East were driven to take refuge in the West, carrying with them many ancient manuscripts of great interest, there were some discoveries which have since proved of the greatest importance to mankind, among which were the art of making paper and of printing, the invention of gunpowder, and the discovery of the magnetic needle.

As the human mind awoke by reason of the diffusion of knowledge, men began to think for themselves, not only in respect to their temporal, but also their spiritual concerns.

There had already been a spirit of religious inquiry in certain localities, among the Waldenses and the Albigenses, the Lollards and the Hussites, a spirit which no persecution could crush.

But the light of these early reformers shone in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. Many minds had been gradually preparing for a change, when the brighter light of the Reformation dawned. The instrument chosen by God for begin-

ning this great work was Martin Luther. As we contemplate his appearance on the stage of history at this particular juncture, how wonderful does it seem. The monk of Erfurt nailed his theses to the door of the Cathedral of Wittenberg, and the world felt the shock. A new impulse seized the minds of men, for the Bible was now no longer a sealed and unknown book. Tyrannical rulers and the haughty pontiff of Rome trembled and turned pale, and liberty, religious and civil, commenced its onward and triumphant career.*

Let us now glance at the results of the Reformation in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, France and England.

* When I recall to mind at last, after so many ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church; how the bright and blissful reformation (by divine power) struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears; and the sweet odor of the returning gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it, the schools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues, the princes and cities trooping apace to the new erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the unresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon.—*John Milton on the Reformation in England.*

Soon after that event there was a great civil war in Germany, by means of which the Protestants, after a long struggle, seem to have gained freedom to worship God according to the dictates of conscience.

But erelong another war broke out between the Catholics and the Protestants, which lasted thirty years, by which the latter obtained an equality of civil rights with the former.* The great hero of civil and religious liberty in this protracted struggle was Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, who defeated and humbled tyrannical Austria on the plains of Lutzen, where he himself, at the age of thirty-eight, after a most brilliant military career, fell covered with wounds.

Of this hero in the cause of freedom Napoleon said: "Gustavus Adolphus was animated by the principles of Alexander, Hannibal and Cæsar." He might indeed have admired the wonderful genius of those men, but he was animated by a higher principle than they, a principle which neither the great Napoleon, nor his distinguished nephew would appreciate, the principle of liberty.

Before engaging in his last great battle, standing in front of his army, he gave out Luther's hymn,

* Treaty of Westphalia one hundred and thirty years from the commencement of the Reformation.

leading the singing himself, and then, at the critical hour he rushed into the thick of the fight.

In Switzerland the Reformation was followed by a war in which the reformer Zwingle fell.

In Holland, the home of the noble ancestors of some present in this assembly, the contest between tyranny and freedom, superstition and religion, was fierce and bloody, but the result was glorious. Its causes can be thus enumerated: "The introduction of a standing army amid a people whose laws and constitution were of a free and popular cast: the increase of a number of ecclesiastical dignitaries; the attempt to introduce the Inquisition, and the enforcing the intolerable edict of Charles the Fifth." Fortunately for this oppressed country, a man appeared at this juncture who was equal to the emergency, and who will always be regarded as among the greatest benefactors of the human race, William, Prince of Orange.

"I am held," said he, "to be the contriver of conspiracies, but what greater glory can there be than to maintain the liberty of a man's country, and to die rather than be enslaved."

The character of William is one of the most remarkable furnished us in history. He was a man of ardent piety, and what was rare in that age, of great toleration. He was noted for his firmness, constancy,

devotion to duty, and hopefulness. He possessed quick perceptions, and a great knowledge of human nature. His mind was highly cultured, and he was master of several languages. Though frequently so reticent, that he received the name of "the Silent," he was an eloquent speaker. He was also a forcible writer, and a person of great industry, and unbounded capacity for labor. He was a statesman of broad and comprehensive views, and a general of great skill and ability. In familiar conversation he was animated and often merry. In the darkest hours of his country's peril he sometimes manifested an apparent gayety, which was censured by some as the result of flippancy, but which was doubtless assumed intentionally for the purpose of driving away sad and despairing thoughts from his own and from others' minds. He bore his people upon his heart continually, and among his last words in death were, "O my God, have mercy upon my poor people."* Like our illustrious and lamented Lincoln, he fell a martyr in the sacred cause of liberty, being assassinated in the prime of life, in the vigor of his faculties, and in the hour of his country's triumph.

The result of the rebellion in the Low Countries, a rebellion against the intolerance of that most tyrannical, cruel and bigoted sovereign, Philip the Second,

* Motley's Dutch Republic.

of Spain, and his servant the Duke of Alva, equally tyrannical, cruel, and bigoted, was the establishment of civil and religious liberty, and the formation of the Dutch Republic.

Mr. Broadhead, the distinguished historian, thus eloquently concludes the first volume of his "History of the State of New York:"

"Yet without undervaluing others, it may confidently be claimed that to no nation in the world is the Republic of the West more indebted than to the United Provinces for the idea of the confederation of sovereign States; for noble principles of constitutional freedom; for magnanimous sentiments of religious toleration; for characteristic sympathy with the subjects of oppression; for liberal doctrines in trade and commerce; for illustrious patterns of private integrity, and public virtue, and for generous and timely aid in the establishment of independence. Nowhere among the people of the United States can men be found excelling in honesty, industry, courtesy, or accomplishment, the posterity of the early Dutch settlers of New Netherlands. And when the Providence of God decreed that the rights of humanity were again to be maintained through long years of endurance and war, the descendants of Hollanders nobly emulated the example of their forefathers; nor was their steadfast patriotism outdone by that

of any of the heroes in the strife which made the blood-stained soil of New York and New Jersey, the Netherlands of America."

In France after the Reformation there was a succession of bloody wars. Before these had commenced, persons who professed the reformed doctrines were continually dragged to the stake, but during their continuance, in short intervals of peace, the condition of the Protestants was made more tolerable by concessions extorted from the crown. Yet this was only a lull before the storm which burst upon the heads of the unsuspecting Protestants in the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The result of the terrible wars in France was on the whole favorable to Protestantism, its leader Henry of Navarre being made king under the title of Henry the Fourth.* After a long and glorious reign he was assassinated. Thus perished another friend of liberty.

The people of France did not attempt to obtain any change in the constitution of their country, at this most favorable opportunity, but satisfied with their present glory and happiness, were careless in regard to the future. Hence the civil liberties of the French people were not greatly advanced by the Reformation.

* Henry still retained his affection and regard for the Protestants.

In England * the Reformation was not immediately succeeded by war, though its influence was soon felt throughout the entire kingdom. The reigning monarch at that time was Henry the Eighth, a prince of courage and ability but extremely tyrannical. His reign was a very perilous one to the liberties of England, and the constitution of that country

* "Lands were cultivated in England, as in other countries of Europe by serfs or "villains," who were bought and sold with the soil. It was during the reign of Henry VII. that the latest laws were enacted that regulated this species of servitude. It was found that the produce of a large estate could be much more advantageously disposed of by the peasant that raises it, than by the landlord or the bailiff, who was accustomed to receive it. The practice of granting leases to the peasants began to prevail, and this practice entirely broke the bonds of servitude. It was in a similar manner that villenage gradually went into disuse throughout the more civilized parts of Europe. Thus personal freedom became almost general in Europe."—*R. G. Parker.*

Three great constitutional principles. After describing the prerogatives of the king of England during the middle ages, Macaulay says: "But his power though ample, was limited by three great constitutional principles, so ancient that none can say when they began to exist, so potent that their natural development, continued through many generations, has produced the order of things under which we now live. First, the king could not legislate without the consent of his parliament. Secondly, he could impose no taxes without the consent of his parliament. Thirdly, he was bound to conduct the executive administration according to the laws of the land, and if he broke those laws, his advisers and his agents were responsible."—*Macaulay's History of England.*

was in great danger of being overthrown, as the parliament was in the habit of slavishly submitting to the will of Henry. Fortunately it still retained the power to tax, or rather to concur in the taxation of the people. Fortunately also it was deemed necessary by Henry to call frequent parliaments on account of the violent measures into which he was so often hurried, and thus their use was kept up at this very important period.

In the reign of his excellent son Edward the Sixth, whose life, full of promise, was so early cut off, those acts of parliament contrary to the spirit of the constitution, which had been passed during the reign of Henry, were repealed.

By reason of the alienation of Henry from the Pope, and his appointing himself the spiritual head of the church, in his own dominions, Protestantism obtained a strong foothold in England, and during the reign of Edward the Sixth, it was the religion of the State.*

* In order that I may do the character of Henry the Eighth no injustice, I will quote from the historian Froude, who takes a different view of this monarch from that which has generally been accepted by the world as the true one.

In concluding the reign of Henry he says :

"Beyond and besides the Reformation, the constitution of these islands now rests in large measure on foundations laid in this reign. Henry brought Ireland within the reach of English civilization. He absorbed Wales and the Palatinates

Alas for England when good Edward died, for Mary's reign was a fearful one for the cause of true religion and of liberty, but they came forth from the fires of martyrdom purified and strengthened.*

Cheerily rang the bells when Elizabeth ascended the throne, and well they might, for the fearful darkness had passed away, and the most remarkable reign in the English annals had commenced.

into the general English system. He it was who raised the House of Commons from the narrow duty of voting supplies, and of passing without discussion the measures of the Privy Council, and converted them into the first power in the State under the crown. When he ascended the throne so little did the Commons care for their privileges, that their attendance at the sessions of parliament was enforced by a law. They woke into life in 1529, and they became the right hand of the king to subdue the resistance of the House of Lords, and to force upon them a course of legislation which from their hearts they detested. Other kings in times of difficulty summoned their "great councils," composed of peers or prelates, or municipal officials, or any persons whom they pleased to nominate. Henry VIII. broke through the ancient practice, and ever threw himself on the representatives of the people. By the Reformation, and by the power which he forced upon them, he had so interwoven the House of Commons with the highest business of the State, that the peers thenceforward sank to be their shadow.

"His personal faults were great, and he shared, besides them, in the errors of his age; but far deeper blemishes would be but as scars upon the features of a sovereign who in trying times sustained nobly the honor of the English name, and carried the commonwealth securely through the hardest crisis in its history."

* In the reign of Mary, from 1553 to 1558, a thousand

Though like her father Henry the Eighth, Elizabeth had a very high opinion of the royal prerogative, she yet loved her people, and had an earnest desire for their happiness.

The spirit of freedom still existed in England, fostered doubtless by the doctrines of the Reformed religion, which Elizabeth herself nominally espoused.

One of the most interesting exhibitions of this spirit is to be found in the speech of Peter Wentworth, a Puritan, in the House of Commons.

The Queen after having controlled debates at her pleasure, and limited the jurisdiction of parliament on various occasions, at length declared through the speaker, that no bills concerning religion, except those

learned Englishmen fled from the stake at home to the happier states of Continental Protestantism. Of these, great numbers, I know not how many, came to Geneva. There they awaited the death of the Queen ; and then, sooner or later, but in the time of Elizabeth, went back to England.

"I ascribe to that five years in Geneva an influence which has changed the history of the world. I seem to myself to trace to it, as an influence on the English race, a new theology ; new politics ; another tone of character ; the opening of another era of time and of liberty. I seem to myself to trace to it the great civil war of England ; the Republican Constitution framed in the cabin of the May-flower, the divinity of Jonathan Edwards ; the battle of Bunker Hill ; the Independence of America."—*Rufus Choate.*

The success of Elizabeth's reign was doubtless due in some measure to her chief counsellor Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh who was a true friend of liberty.

preferred by the clergy, should be debated in the house.

Wentworth, who, though he had a strong attachment to his Queen, by no means agreed with her ideas of the unlimited extent of the royal prerogative, among other fearless expressions made use of the following. Addressing the House of Commons, he said: "We are assembled to make or abrogate such laws as may be the chiefest surety, safe keeping and enrichment, of the noble realm of England. I do think it expedient to open the commodities (advantages) that grow to the prince and the whole state by free speech used in this place." This noble and fearless man then proceeded to indulge in language which, though perfectly respectful toward his sovereign, indicated that he believed that the people too had rights, which it was their bounden duty to maintain and preserve. For this freedom of debate he was condemned to imprisonment, for, (such is the language of the indictment) "the violent and wicked words pronounced by him touching the Queen's majesty." After a month's imprisonment he was released by the clemency of Elizabeth. When brought before a committee of the House to answer for his speech, he said: "I do promise you all, if God forsake me not, that I will never during life hold my tongue if any message is sent wherein God is dis-

honored, the prince perilled or the liberties of the parliament impeached." We can hardly conceive of an example of greater moral courage than that of Peter Wentworth, the forerunner of the illustrious patriots who were to suffer and to die for the liberties of England.

Doubtless his sentiments were responded to by many a heart even at that early day.*

The contest between prerogative and privilege took a perceptible shape in the reign of Elizabeth's successor, James the First, the earliest of the line of Stuarts. One of the most remarkable documents of this period is entitled, "An Apology of the House of Commons made to the king touching their privileges." It is thought to have been written by Lord Bacon. The arbitrary character of James, and his high notions of the royal prerogative are shown by the circumstance, that when the Commons sent to him a protestation concerning their rights, and privileges, and the jurisdiction of parliament, the king was

* During the reign of Elizabeth, Scotland, whose brave people had always possessed a certain love of freedom, made a rapid advance in civil and religious liberty.

Among the distinguished characters of this period the beautiful and gifted Queen Mary and the hard but sturdy reformer John Knox will always stand forth in marked prominence, the one, with all her attractiveness, a representative of tyranny and superstition, the other, with all his repellant severity, an advocate of liberty and religion.

so enraged, that he tore it out of the journal of the House.

We are now approaching a crisis in the history of England, when there is to occur a conflict between tyranny and liberty so terrible, that it will sunder friends and relatives, cause blood to flow in torrents, strike off the head of the monarch upon the scaffold, and influence the destinies of England and of the world.*

* "If we consider this question of example in a more extended view, and look to the general effect produced upon the minds of men, it cannot be doubted but the opportunity thus given to Charles to display his firmness and piety has created more respect for his memory than it could otherwise have obtained. It has been thought dangerous to the morals of mankind, even in romance, to make us sympathize with characters whose general conduct is blamable, but how much greater must be the effect when, in real history, our feelings are interested in favor of a monarch with whom, to say the least, his subjects were obliged to contend in arms for their liberty! After all, however, notwithstanding what the more reasonable part of mankind may think upon this question, it is much to be doubted whether this singular proceeding has not as much as any other circumstance served to raise the character of the English nation in the opinion of Europe in general."—"*Fragment of History,*" *by Charles James Fox.*

The example of the Dutch Republic had a great influence upon the English at this time; also that of the patriots of Greece and Rome, as there had recently been a revival of classical learning in Europe.—*Encyclopædia Britannica.*

"The parliament granted an ample supply, the king

Charles the First, the son and successor of James, was equally imbued with his immediate predecessors with high sentiments in respect to his prerogative, but did not possess that love for his people, nor that desire for their honor and welfare, which distinguished them. Hence, after a long and patient though not uncomplaining endurance of almost innumerable oppressions, a large number of the people, and among them many men distinguished for great ability, were changed from loyal and loving subjects to haters of their ruler. The result of this change was a civil war, by which England secured for herself the great principles of freedom, and handed them down to posterity.

ratified, in the most solemn manner, that celebrated law which is known by the name of the Petition of Right, and which is the second great charter of the liberties of England. By ratifying that law, he bound himself never again to raise money without the consent of the Houses, never again to imprison any person, except in due course of law, and never again to subject his people to the jurisdiction of courts-martial.

The day on which the royal sanction was, after many delays, solemnly given to this act, was a day of joy and hope. The Commons, who crowded the bar of the House of Lords, broke forth into loud acclamations. . These acclamations were re-echoed by the voice of the capital and of the nation; but within three weeks, it became manifest that Charles had no intention of observing the compact into which he had entered. The supply given by the representatives of the nation was collected. The promise by which the supply had been obtained was broken."—*Macaulay's History of England.*

Among the most remarkable men of the time was the illustrious patriot John Hampden, whose name has since pervaded the world, and will descend among its greatest benefactors.*

He was noted for his affability and courtesy of manner, which showed itself in private conversation and in parliamentary debate. He was also distinguished for his wisdom, and he had the rare faculty of leading others while seeming to follow. He possessed exceeding modesty and humility, caring little for office, but desirous of doing something to benefit his fellow men. He had very great power over himself, and hence over others. His industry was untiring, his ability of the highest order, his courage great, and his piety so remarkable that he was ridiculed by his enemies as too zealous a Christian. While fighting for his country, he was wounded in the shoulder. Of this wound he soon after died at a time when it seemed that liberty might be crushed. Thus does a friend describe him as a man and as a soldier:

"Was he not pious, valiant, wise, and just,
Loyall and temperate? everything that must
Make up a perfect harmonie. Ye know
His constant actions have declared him so.

So was he truely valiant. I have seen
Him in the front of his regiment in green,
When death about him did in ambush lye,
And whizzing shott like showers of arrowes flye,

* "Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England."

Waving his conq'ring steele, as if that he
From Mars had got the sole monopolie
Of never-failing courage ; and so cheare
His fighting men !

Farewell, beloved in parliament and field
Farewell thy souldiers' faithfull broken shield !"

Soon after the death of Hampden the armies of the Puritans were again successful under the leadership of that wonderful man Oliver Cromwell, to whose military genius was owing the triumph of the popular cause.*

Had Charles the First succeeded in crushing the parliament, in taxing his subjects at his own discretion, and in forcing upon them forms of worship to which a large number of them were opposed from principle, the liberties of England would have perished.

John Milton was, by his writings, a most powerful advocate in the cause of civil and religious liberty during this so important period of English history.

* Among the other men of this age, distinguished in the House of Commons for their ability and patriotism were Sir John Elliot, John Pym, Henry Marten and Sir Harry Vane.

The protectorate of Cromwell during which England was the first power iu Europe, was only justifiable on the supposition that that country was not then prepared for a republican government and that had such been instituted it could have lasted but a short time, and would have caused further bloodshed.

In such words as these, with a sort of prophetic sorrow, he closes his "Second Defense of the People."*

"As for myself to whatever state things may return, I have performed, and certainly with good will, I hope not in vain, the service which I thought would be of most use to the commonwealth.

"It is not before our doors alone that I have borne my arms in defence of liberty. I have wielded them in a field so wide that the justice of those which are no vulgar deeds, shall be explained and vindicated alike to foreign nations and our own countrymen. If after achievements so magnanimous, ye basely fall from your duty, if ye are guilty of any thing unworthy of you, be assured posterity will speak, and thus pronounce its judgment."

Too soon were the fears of the immortal poet, and friend of his race realized.† In the reign of

* Mitford's Life of Milton.

† "The Habeas Corpus act passed by parliament in the reign of Charles II. was very important for the security of personal liberty. By this act every prisoner must be brought before a judge, the cause of his detainer certified, and the judge is authorized and bound to discharge him if the cause of his imprisonment be insufficient or invalid. The violation of this statute is punishable by the highest penalties."—*Tytler's History.*

"The twenty-sixth of May, 1679, is a great era in our history. For on that day the Habeas Corpus Act received the royal assent. From the time of the great charter, the substantive law respecting the personal liberty of Englishmen had been nearly the same as at present; but it had been inefficacious for want of a stringent system of procedure.

Charles the Second, the elevated spirit which actuated the previous generation seems for a time to have departed. That dissolute and contemptible monarch often governed with the assistance of corrupt ministers, dishonorable magistrates and brutal judges. Sir Matthew Hale, however, was an honorable exception. The people, weary of war, allowed those who would gladly have roused them from their lethargy to be led to the scaffold.

The noble patriot who had continually before his mind a glorious vision of a state where there was equality and freedom, of a republic foreshadowed by Greece and Rome, but possessing all the elements of lasting greatness, Algernon Sydney, and that other whose highest ambition it was to preserve unimpaired and strengthened the constitution of his country, and to have a limited monarchy, Lord Russel, were both executed for treason. Sir Harry Vane also suffered death upon the scaffold on account of the prominent part he had taken in the great rebellion.*

What was needed was not a new right, but a prompt and searching remedy, and such a remedy the Habeas Corpus act supplied. The king would gladly have refused his consent to that measure; but he was about to appeal from his parliament to his people on the question of the succession; and he could not venture, at so critical a moment, to reject a bill which was in the highest degree popular!"—*Macaulay's History of England.*

* "Speaking of the Covenanters of Scotland, who endured

James the Second's reign was even more foolish and wicked than that of his brother.* By constantly encroaching upon the rights of his subjects, and by openly espousing Catholicism, he entirely lost their affections, and finally and, most fortunately for them, by his voluntary and ridiculous flight he opened the

everything in this reign for the sake of religious liberty, Macaulay says: "Driven from the towns, they assembled on heaths and mountains. Attacked by the civil power, they without scruple repelled force by force. At every conventicle they mustered in arms. They repeatedly broke out into open rebellion. They were easily defeated and mercilessly punished; but neither defeat nor punishment could subdue their spirit. Hunted down like wild beasts, tortured till their bones were beaten flat, imprisoned by hundreds, hanged by scores, exposed at one time to the license of soldiers from England, abandoned at another time to the mercy of bands of marauders from the highlands, they still stood at bay in a mood so savage that the boldest and mightiest oppressor could not but dread the audacity of their despair."

* "He who had expressed just indignation when the priests of his own faith were hanged and quartered, amused himself with hearing Covenanters shriek and seeing them writhe while their knees were beaten flat in the boots. In this mood he became king, and he immediately demanded and obtained from the obsequious estates of Scotland, as the surest pledge of their loyalty, the most sanguinary law that has ever in our islands been enacted against Protestant Nonconformists.

"With this law the whole spirit of his administration was in perfect harmony. The fiery persecution which had raged when he ruled Scotland as Vicegerent, waxed hotter than ever from the day on which he became sovereign."—*Macaulay's History of England.*

way for that bloodless but most important revolution by which he lost the throne. It was immediately ascended by William of Orange and Mary the daughter of James, and a new era at once commenced.*

Parliament now established on a firm foundation those principles of freedom which are the glory of the English Constitution, William signing with pleasure that new Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, which permanently secured the liberties of the people.

He may therefore be regarded as the great friend and defender of civil and religious liberty in England at this most important period. During the reigns

* "On inviting William and Mary to the throne which had been vacated by James II. the parliament found themselves in a situation to make conditions, and they availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them of giving something like a definite form to the constitution. The following important restrictions were accordingly adopted, and have since been incorporated with the fundamental principles of the government of England. 1. The monarch must be of the Protestant faith. 2. The prerogative of the sovereign cannot allow him to suspend the laws, nor interfere with their execution. 3. The monarch cannot levy money, without the consent of parliament. 4. A standing army cannot be kept up in time of peace, without the consent of parliament. 5. The subjects have a right at all times to petition the crown. 6. Parliament must be frequently assembled. 7. The monarch must not interfere with the elections. 8. Perfect freedom of speech in debate must at all times be allowed to the members of parliament."—*R. G. Parker.*

which have succeeded the general liberties of the people have been continually confirmed by acts of parliament.

Fortunately for the race, liberty was to have a more extended sphere, and a larger development, in a land where tyranny had never been known.*

In the latter part of the reign of James the First, and about twenty years before the commencement of the civil war in England, the May-Flower, (name emblematic of the spirit of freedom,) landed at Plymouth, then a wilderness in the comparatively unknown land of America. In the depth of winter the intrepid band of Pilgrims, a few devoted men and women, began a settlement at this place. Exiles from their native land by reason of religious intolerance, they had for eleven years dwelt in Holland, where they had had an opportunity to enjoy and study the free republican institutions of the United Provinces, and, what they deemed of still greater importance, to worship God according to the

* "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance: while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means." —*Milton.*

dictates of conscience. The approach of war, and other even more weighty reasons caused them again to emigrate.

Governor Bradford in "Young's Chronicles," thus describes the entrance of the Pilgrims into Holland.

"Being now come into the Low Countries they saw many goodly and fortified cities, strongly walled and guarded with troops of armed men. Also they heard a strange and uncouth language and beheld the different manners and customs of the people with their strange fashions and attires; all so far differing from that of their plain country villages, wherein they were bred and born and had so long lived, as it seemed they were come into a new world. But those were not the things they much looked on, or long took up their thoughts, for they had other work in hand, and another kind of war to wage and maintain. For though they saw fair and beautiful cities, flowing with abundance of all sorts of wealth and riches, yet it was not long before they saw the grim and grizzled face of poverty coming on them like an armed man, with whom they must buckle and encounter, and from whom they could not fly. But they were armed with faith and patience against him and all his encounters; and though they were sometimes foiled, yet by God's assistance they prevailed, and got the victory."

And again: "Being thus settled (at Leyden) after many difficulties, they continued many years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together, in the ways of God, under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster who was an assistant with him in the place of an elder unto which he was now called and chosen by the church; so they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the spirit of God, and lived together in peace and love and holiness. And many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation."

Among the reasons he gives for their removal is the following: "Lastly, and which was not the least, a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the Gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world; yea though they should be but as stepping stones unto others for performing of so great a work." *

Thus was the liberty of America born of religion. Stern were the struggles, and terrible the hardships

* Referring to the motives of our Puritan ancestors who emigrated to this country, the historian Bancroft says,— "Puritanism was religion struggling for the people."

the Pilgrims encountered, and many during the first winter fell victims to cold, hunger and disease, but gradually they overcame all obstacles, and founded a colony. This settlement, together with the early ones in Virginia, was the foundation of those colonies which existed for so many years in great prosperity, owing allegiance to the mother country, and glad to perform the part of dutiful children.* The same principles which had been fought for there, and which were so dear to the people of England, were dear to them. How strange does it then seem that the parent should try to oppress her offspring. How strange that England should attempt to force upon her colonies the odious system of taxation without representation, an evil against which the people of that country had always themselves contended. That this attempt to tax the colonies was opposed by some of the greatest orators and statesmen England has ever produced is well known. But the warnings of Chatham and Burke were disregarded, and selfishness prevailed.† Said Lord Chatham in

* *A marked contrast.*—"Lord, for schools everywhere among us—that before we die we may be so happy, as to see a good school in every plantation in the country."—*Prayer of John Eliot in the General Court of Massachusetts in* 1645.

"I thank God there are no free schools nor printing. God keep us from both."—*Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia in* 1670.

† Fox and Pitt also opposed it.

the House of Lords, in a speech delivered just before the commencement of hostilities, "America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted." Again, addressing the ministers of his country, he exclaimed: "The whole of your political conduct has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, ignorance, futility, negligence, blundering, and the most notorious servility, incapacity and corruption."

This question of taxing America had been discussed as early as 1765, and ten years before the declaration of Independence Dr. Franklin declared at the bar of the House of Commons, that America would never consent to the Stamp Act. How then are we to account for the strange infatuation of the Mother Country, for the king, the ministry and a large majority in both Houses of Parliament, and of the influential classes in the nation were in favor of forcing taxation upon this country.

An able and learned writer, William Smyth,* himself an Englishman, in a series of admirable lectures delivered and published in England and republished in this country, gives the following as in his estimation the causes for this peculiar and unparalleled conduct.

* I am indebted to these lectures of Professor Smyth for many important facts in the constitutional history of Europe.

"An ignorance of or inattention to the great leading principles of political economy; high overweening national pride; a mean and unworthy money selfishness; high principles of government, and a certain vulgarity of thinking on political subjects."

The same writer also makes use of the following expressions, which if some of the more influential of his countrymen had heeded they would have proved themselves wiser, and better men than their words and actions have since shown them to be. "If I could prepare your minds hereafter to avoid them (the things just mentioned), I should consider it to be one of the greatest objects which these lectures could accomplish." And again he says, with what the light of events then in the future has shown to have been a true knowledge of his countrymen, "I am compelled to believe that if similar questions were to come before us to-morrow we should be not much better or wiser than those who went before." Though exactly similar questions have not arisen, questions of equally vital importance to the interests of mankind have, and Lord Palmerston and the government of England have proved themselves lineal successors of Lord North and the promoters of the American War. On the other hand John Bright, Richard Cobden and their associates, and the humbler classes, numerically

a majority, but possessing comparatively little influence, have shown themselves true descendants of Lord Chatham, and the opponents of that war.*

Here then was a mighty nation, which had just humbled the power of France in a series of brilliant victories, and which was soon again to humble it in the person of Napoleon Bonaparte; a nation united to its colonies by all those ties of kindred and religion which are esteemed dearest and most sacred among mankind; which itself for successive ages and generations from the most remote period of its known

* Several years before the late war, Coleman, in his "European Life and Manners," thus writes from London: "I am sorry to say that few events would more gratify many people here than the dissolution of the American Republic, and the defeat of the great experiment of an elective government." This is also the universal testimony of American travelers during the war.

The London Daily News, which, with the London Star, gave help and encouragement to us by its cheering words when we most needed them, in an article on the Alabama Claims, thus alludes to the position assumed by the learned writer "Historicus:"

"He maintains that the body of the English people are true to America and to the cause of freedom, and they ought not to be held responsible for a small and clamorous minority which neither represented the spirit of the nation, nor was able to control the policy of the government. Now this is perhaps the most startling passage ever penned even by a writer so forgetful as 'Historicus.' For him to state and for the Tories to print that the Southern sympathizers constituted but 'a small and clamorous minority' must be numbered among the signs of the times."

history had claimed the right of taxation to be in the people, in vindication of which it had also overthrown its own government; here was such a nation about to make war upon a seemingly defenceless people.

The result of that struggle the world has long known. Let us hurriedly follow our ancestors as they contend for seven years against tyranny. The civil war begins at Lexington in April, 1775, followed by the battle of Bunker Hill, in the same year. Then occur at varying intervals of time, the appointment of General Washington to the supreme command, the evacuation of Boston by the British, the declaration of Independence, the disasters of Long Island, and of Fort Washington, and the retreat of our army through the Jerseys. Then the brilliant affair at Trenton, the success at Princeton, and the arrival of La Fayette, restore their drooping courage.* These again are followed by the reverse at Brandywine, the unsuccessful attack at Germantown, and the terrible winter at Valley Forge. Afterwards occur the battle of Bennington, the surrender of Burgoyne, the victory at Monmouth, the great success of the combined American and French forces, the surrender of Corn-

* This friend of liberty was then only twenty years old. His arrival and the sympathy and material aid of the French nation at this critical period was a providential circumstance in our national history for which we owe lasting gratitude.

wallis, and finally the evacuation of New York. This joyful event took place on the twenty-fifth of November, 1783, now celebrated as Evacuation Day, and ten days later the remaining British forces embarked from Staten Island and Long Island.* Thus our ancestors, for seven years of mingled good fortune and disaster, contended against tyranny, and thus their labors were crowned with success, and the American Republic under the guidance of Washington commenced its career of usefulness and glory.

The names of the distinguished patriots of this period will ever be cherished in the hearts of the lovers of liberty. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton and Patrick Henry will live while their country lives. Warren and Putnam still speak to us from the sods of Bunker Hill. The examples of Greene, Schuyler, Montgomery, Stark, Sullivan and others have inspired our generals to deeds of immortal fame. The spirit of the Revolution, an unquenchable love of "liberty regulated by law," has animated their worthy descendants at Fort

* We are now beginning to realize the truth and force of the beautiful prediction of the Preserver of his Country: "The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."—*Lincoln's address to the South in his first Inaugural.*

Sumter, Murfreesboro, Antietam, Gettysburg and Richmond, and in all the battles, sieges, privations and conflicts of the war, both on land and sea, whether physical or moral, "to do and if need be to die for their country." *

As William of Orange was the guide and father of his people during the contest between tyranny and liberty in Holland, so Washington, uniting in himself great abilities both as a general and as a statesman, led his countrymen safely through the great struggle for liberty and the rights of man.

George Washington was a man of broad and comprehensive views, and of great elevation of mind. He loved liberty as his birthright, and he desired it for others because he believed it to be their birthright.

His modesty was remarkable, and by reason of his eminence, was especially noticeable on public occasions. Though not distinguished for great learning, he was possessed of consummate wisdom. Unambitious of office or of distinction for their own sake, he accepted them for the good of his country. His piety was apparent but unobtrusive. Unshaken by the delusions of party and of faction, and having supreme

* Gen. Robert Anderson, Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson and others who had served their country by sword, voice or pen, were present at the reading of this paper.

control over his passions, he stood calmly before the nation, worthy of the admiration of his own and of succeeding generations.*

The Americans having gained their independence the desire of liberty was infused into the hearts of others. Revolutions followed in several of the nations of Europe.

First Poland endeavored to shake off the tyrannical grasp of Russia, but after a fierce struggle the leader of the revolt, the heroic Kosciusko, fell, Warsaw was taken, and the Poles were reduced to submission. The French revolution came next. Its fearful excesses caused Madame Roland, one of its noblest victims, to exclaim beneath the guillotine, apostrophising the statue of Liberty and bowing her

* "Such a chief magistrate as Washington appears like the pole star in a clear sky to direct the skillful statesman. His presidency will form an epoch, and be distinguished as the age of Washington. Already it assumes its high place in the political region. Like the milky way it whitens along its allotted portion of the hemisphere. The latest generations of men will survey through the telescope of history the space where so many virtues blend their rays, and delight to separate them into groups and distinct virtues. As the best illustration of them, the living monument to which the first of patriots would have chosen to consign his fame, it is my earnest prayer to heaven that our country may subsist even to that late day, in the plenitude of its wisdom and happiness, and mingle its mild glory with Washington's."—*Fisher Ames.*

head before it: "Oh Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name."

Here was shown in a very striking manner the absolute necessity of the guiding influence of religion in a state. The right that some men arrogate to themselves of writing and speaking whatever in their own evil hearts they may choose to write and speak, however vile, traitorous, or blasphemous it may be, however subversive of human or divine government, merits the strong arm of the law, and deserves as it will receive the wrath of the Almighty.

The spirit of liberty next revisited the classic land of Greece. The descendants of the ancient Greeks rose against the tyranny of the Turks, to which they had been subjected for four centuries. After a bloody revolution they succeeded in throwing off the yoke of subjection, and now enjoy the blessings of a limited monarchy resembling that of England. During the progress of their rebellion brave men joined them from Europe and America; the eloquent voices of Webster, Clay and Everett were raised in their behalf, and Lord Byron, whose loftiest strains were in honor of freedom, engaged in their cause. To him and to Moore, Shelley and Campbell the cause of liberty throughout Europe has been indebted, nor will their words ever cease to inspire the breasts of freemen.*

* This love of freedom is the redeeming feature in Byron

In Ireland there have been two attempts at rebellion, both of them unsuccessful. In the former, Robert Emmet fell a victim. His memory has ever since been cherished with great affection by his countrymen. His distinguished brother, an exile for freedom, was an ornament to the city and land of his adoption.*

At a later period the cause of the Independence of Ireland was espoused by some young and gallant spirits. On the failure of this attempt some of the leaders took refuge in the United States, among whom was the gallant and eloquent Meagher, who, with thousands of his countrymen, "marched to the music of the Union," as they heard it played by unseen fingers upon the Harp of Erin.

Hungary, long oppressed by Austria, asserted her independence, but finally the brave Hungarians were compelled to yield to the superior might of their adversary, and Kossuth, their great leader, to fly to other lands.†

In the year 1848 a remarkable movement occurred in Europe in favor of a larger liberty. Beginning in

and Shelley, regarded as powers in the world. There is no more powerful auxiliary to liberty than a pure literature.

* Thomas Addis Emmet.

† "Pardon me, I thought I saw the thousands of my countrymen pass again in review before me, and heard them shout again Liberty or death!"—*Kossuth in England.*

France, it spread rapidly throughout the central and lower portions of Europe, the several states of Germany and Italy being especially affected by it, in many of which large concessions were made to the people, which were soon taken back by most of the governments which gave them. The King of Sardinia, however, Victor Emanuel, never attempted to recall his grants, but rather confirmed and enlarged them.

The foundations of the limited and beneficent monarchy in whose opening career we feel so deep an interest, were laid by the Emperor Napoleon III. eleven years afterward. In the later history of Italy three names stand forth in marked prominence, that of the enthusiastic and heroic liberator Garibaldi, whose sword helped to sever the bands which bound his country, that of the fearless and eloquent Mazzini, whose burning words infused into the breasts of the Italians a love of freedom and hatred of despotism, and that of the sagacious and able Count Cavour, whose liberal and comprehensive mind was greatly influential in framing the new constitution of the Kingdom of Italy.

In France the revolution by a sudden outbreak overthrew the throne of Louis Phillipe, who fled in disguise from his kingdom. A republic then arose, but owing to the want of a true appreciation among

the people of the blessings of freedom, it existed but for a short period.

A few of the ablest writers of the age with reference to civil liberty, have been Frenchmen. Worthy of especial honor are De Gasparin and Laboulaye, whose words of cheer and encouragement during our late fearful struggle for the preservation of our institutions, and the welfare of mankind, wafted by favoring breezes across the Atlantic, have brought comfort to the hearts of thousands.*

In Germany the love of freedom has been strong, though there are still many hindrances to its progress. This is doubtless the reason why so many of that nation have emigrated to this country.

To no class of foreigners are we so much indebted for aid in our terrible struggle as to the Germans. The names of Rosecranz, Heintzelman, Sigel, Weitzel and others will be held in grateful remembrance by their and our descendants.

The distinguished scholar and clergyman Rev. Philip Schaff, in a recent visit to Germany, was much impressed by the demonstrations of affection

* "The whole world, I have just said, is engaged in the contest. The uprising of this people upraises us also: this spectacle of sufferings nobly accepted does us good. We feel that one of those storms which purify the atmosphere is passing at this moment over our globe."—*De Gasparin in "America before Europe."*

exhibited toward America among the masses of the people.

On one very important occasion his remarks relative to the progress of freedom, and the downfall of slavery, were received with tumultuous enthusiasm.

Alexander II., Czar of Russia, the true and faithful friend of America, having seen the evils of slavery in his own vast empire, and feeling that the strongest bulwark of a nation is the love of the people for their ruler, by his "imperial manifesto," published March 17th, 1861, provided for the emancipation of millions of serfs, and thus gained for himself a proud name among the world's benefactors.

Switzerland has been and is still in the enjoyment of a good degree of liberty. She has sympathized heartily with us in our struggle for freedom. One can almost imagine that her lofty mountains have shouted to one another for joy at the triumphs of liberty, and have veiled their heads in clouds when slavery seemed to succeed.

The condition of Ireland is now an object of especial interest and importance, which is enhanced by the feeling, that the excitement in that country and in England is in a considerable degree the result of the vindication of the free institutions of America in the late civil war. Our friend Professor Goldwin Smith, whose admirable address delivered during the

war in this place you well remember, in an essay on "Irish History and Irish Character," shows very clearly that Ireland has been and is still an oppressed country.

One of the abuses which he mentions is that foreign landlords are assisted by the British Parliament in maintaining a system of land laws, which deprive the tenants of their rightful earnings, reduce multitudes of them to pauperism, and are inhuman and barbarous. Hence the condition of the Irish is any thing but prosperous. With a fertile soil and a benignant climate they have a poor agriculture. With excellent ports and harbors they have but little commerce. With the most extensive manufactures in the world in a neighboring island their supply of home manufactured fabrics is very limited. Therefore they have been and are now emigrating to this country in great numbers. It is estimated that nearly two millions of the Irish people are paupers, and a very small number have the right of suffrage.*

Daniel O'Connell,—who was indefatigable in his efforts for the good of Ireland, and whose admirable letter, written to his countrymen in America some

* Earl Mayo, chief secretary for Ireland, in reply to a speech of John Francis Maguire, member of parliament for Cork, March 10th, 1868, on the wrongs of Ireland, adduced this very singular evidence of the prosperity of that country, viz., that the consumption of spirits was increasing.

years since, denouncing them for the sympathy with slavery which many of them had, and still have, notwithstanding their love for their own liberties, was circulated by the Loyal League, and helped greatly the cause of freedom,—openly advocated universal suffrage, and opposed the state church, which, supported as it always has been by the public treasury, and compulsory tithes, and entirely at variance with the wishes of a majority of the people, is an injury to the cause of true religion and of liberty.*

Surely the way to christianize Ireland is not to keep any such institution as that over it, which savors of the spirit of persecution and religious intolerance, but to remove it, and to spread the Bible far and wide in every hamlet and peasant's cot.

Then will Ireland bloom and blossom as the rose. Then will intelligence and virtue prevail. Then will Irishmen understand their rights, and be able to maintain them. Then will the eloquent words of one of her most gifted orators be fully realized in spirit, whether she remains a part of the United Kingdom, or becomes entirely independent.

When in 1782, Ireland by a resort to arms had extorted from England the independence of her judi-

* This evil has now been removed by act of Parliament. The church and State are now separated to the mutual advantage of both.

ciary and parliament, Grattan arose in her House of Commons and said:

"I am now to address a free people; ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. I found Ireland on her knees; I watched over her with a maternal solicitude. I have traced her progress from injuries to arms, from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift, spirit of Molyneaux, your genius has prevailed. Ireland is now a nation. In that character I hail her, and, bowing to her august presence, I say, 'Live Forever!'"*

In England the cause of liberty, already considerably advanced, as we have seen, is making slow but decided progress.

Several years since, the anti-corn law and the bill for reform in parliament passed after great opposition, principally through the earnest efforts of John Bright and of our distinguished and much lamented friend Richard Cobden. The masses of the English

* By the passage of the Land Act, the two great questions which have agitated Ireland have now been settled, though there is still great commotion in that distracted country.

It seems as though the effect of the passage of the Land Act would be beneficial. The landlords are often obliged to make sacrifices, and the tenants are beginning to make improvements. The next great reform will probably be that of the ballot, and then the Irish people will really be politically emancipated.

people are not adequately represented in parliament, nor have they the privilege of voting.*

Sir Morton Peto, in a speech on reform made at Bristol, alludes to this fact as especially worthy of the consideration of his countrymen, that after having put down a most formidable rebellion, our army of a million of men should disappear almost entirely in the ranks of the people far more quietly and quickly than it was raised.

Said he in conclusion: "If these men can go and

* "The word borough (or burgh) meant originally a fortified town; but the term was early restricted to those towns which sent burgesses to parliament. Previous to the reform of parliament, which took place a few years ago, several centuries had elapsed since the distribution of the representatives among the towns was fixed. Many places, formerly populous, and entitled to be represented, had dwindled into insignificance, and yet still retained their original privilege of sending members to the parliament. These were called *rotten boroughs.* Other cities had in the meanwhile risen into importance, with a large and dense population, without enjoying the same privilege. The *reform* of *parliament* was effected by taking the undue privilege from the *rotten boroughs* and bestowing it upon the towns or cities in some proportion to the present population."—*R. G. Parker.*

"Some of the principal causes of dissatisfaction that now exist among the poorer classes in England are:

1st. The disproportion that exists between the great landed proprietors, and the actual cultivators of the ground.

2d. The great burden of the taxes; and 3d. The overgrown revenue of the Established Church with its very unequal and unjust division."—*R. G. Parker.*

be absorbed in civil life it must show that the country possesses resources such as were never seen before and which nations in Europe would do well to imitate."

America feels no hatred toward England. No! the spirit of America is love for mankind. We indeed feel that we have been injured, and that at a time when friendship from those of our own blood would have been most highly appreciated.

We feel also that our claims for indemnity for losses upon the sea, so ably set forth by a descendant of two of our illustrious Presidents, have been treated in too sophistical and narrow a spirit.*

But we do not, we would not forget that it was from our English ancestors that we, as a people, imbibed our love for civil and religious liberty. Milton and Hampden, Chatham and Burke, claim kindred

It seems probable that the State church of England will erelong follow the State church of Ireland into dignified retirement. With such opponents as Miall, who against great and long continued opposition has persistently brought the subject of disestablishment before parliament, and Bright, that champion of human progress, whose clarion voice cheered the hearts of thousands in the North during the Rebellion, with such opponents as these and with the tide of civilization and enlightenment against it, this monument of past ages must erelong yield.

* The proposal on the part of England of a joint commission to arbitrate this important question, followed by the treaty of Washington, seemed to be marked by a desire to do justly.

with us from their graves, and we delight to hold them in lasting honor.

Let England be great, wealthy and powerful. Let her commerce cover the seas. Let her provincial territory be unbounded. We do not envy. We rejoice. But we feel that the true greatness of a nation lies not in these things, but in the expansion of its ideas.

May the golden chain of liberty stretch across the Atlantic, and unite England and America. All hail, then, to the work of reform in England.

In South America, after the revolution, republics sprang up rapidly in imitation of ours, one of which, Chili, recently vindicated her rights against the assumptions of Spain.

Mexico also was formerly a republic, though by no means a model one, and if the signs of the times are not deceitful she will soon resume her former condition. Here it has clearly been shown, that a republic, in order to be successful, must rest upon the virtue and intelligence of the people.

Liberia, the African republic, stretches forth her arms to the native tribes, and to all the poor sons of Africa, and welcomes them to the blessings of freedom. Some from the United States are annually emigrating there, though the majority will doubtless prefer to remain in the land which they have helped to redeem.

In Hayti or St. Domingo Toussaint L'Ouverture, by his great military ability, conquered freedom for the blacks, defeating the English and Spaniards in several engagements, but, incurring the enmity of Napoleon, he was captured by treachery and transferred from the position of governor to a dungeon in France, where he perished by starvation, a martyr in the cause of the freedom of his race. The poet Wordsworth has embalmed in immortal verse the fame of this heroic chieftain.

St Domingo is now a republic.

In Jamaica, and the British West India islands, slavery was abolished several years since, through the efforts of those distinguished philanthropists Wilberforce, Clarkson and Buxton,* but yet there has since existed a condition of things scarcely preferable to actual slavery, being a system of caste, in which the planter class has had the supremacy, and greatly oppressed the blacks.

* "By the act abolishing slavery in the British West India Colonies, all children under six years of age, or born after August 1st, 1834, were declared free; and all slaves above the age of six years were divided into two classes; one of which was to become free in August, 1838, and the other in August of 1840; so that after the latter period, no one was to remain in a state of slavery. The sum of twenty millions of pounds sterling was granted to the owners of the slaves, to indemnify them for their loss."—*R. G. Parker's Outlines of History.*

This system finally culminated in the massacre of a multitude of the oppressed race and the cruel death of that heroic advocate of their rights, George W. Gordon.

And what was this the result of? I answer, the spirit of slavery which, though slavery itself had been nominally abolished, still remained; that same spirit which, after contaminating our fair land during all its existence, finally drenched it in blood, massacred its citizens in a quiet town and its soldiers after surrender on a field of battle, starved them by thousands in loathsome prisons, and basely murdered our President.

Seeing that such have been its results, should it be tolerated in any form by the American people?

Slavery, thank God! has been nominally abolished, but it is still an enemy to be feared as well as to be hated. Hence if there be any of its spirit yet remaining, and threatening evil to any portion of our land, it should be extirpated. Then smiling can we wave our hands and shout to the coming millions to advance.

The fearfully black cloud which so long obscured the mild blue of the heavens has rolled away. Some cloudlets, however, still hover above our horizon. Sun of freedom, fill them with thy light ere they become portents of a storm!

And yet how sublime is the prospect which unfolds itself as we look forward into the future.

As when in the still sunset hour one sees the bright orb of day glide calmly down the western sky amid a flood of radiant glory, his soul is enthralled by the enchanting picture, so he who loves thee, Liberty, is enraptured with the wondrous vision, and exultantly exclaims with the poet:

> "Take, freedom, take thy radiant round;
> When dimmed revive, when lost return,
> Till not a shrine through earth be found
> On which thy glories shall not burn."

In the farewell address of Washington to his countrymen he cautioned them with great earnestness to beware of factious strife. It is evident that fear of this weighed heavily upon the mind of the Father of his Country as he looked forward to the future. The result has proved the wisdom of those words. Gradually a political heresy crept in which divided the different sections of the country—the doctrine of state rights. Though this was not an unfavorite theory of a certain class of statesmen before, it seems to have been conceived as a practical measure in the mind of John C. Calhoun, who disseminated it among the brilliant and ambitious spirits of the South, they seizing upon it with avidity. Jefferson Davis in his last speech at Charleston told the inhabitants of that city that he learned this political doctrine from the lips of the revered Calhoun. So far indeed did this doc-

trine of the right of a state to disobey or annul an act of Congress infatuate people that the State of South Carolina passed an act, called the "nullification act," which was revolutionary in its nature. Andrew Jackson, then President of the United States, put an immediate stop to these strange proceedings, and thus saved constitutional liberty.*

But there was another evil, more baneful than this which the republic was obliged to contend against. It was slavery.

When we consider that the light of christianity dawned upon the earth more than eighteen hundred years ago, it would seem almost incredible that the barbarous and hateful institution of slavery should

* I adjure you as you honor their memory (viz. that of your ancestors), as you love the cause of freedom to which they dedicated themselves, as you prize the peace of your country, the lives of its best citizens and your own fair fame, to retrace your steps. Tell them (the leaders) that compared to disunion all other evils are light, because that brings with it an accumulation of all, declare that you will never take the field unless the star spangled banner of your country shall float over you; that you will not be stigmatized when dead, and dishonored and scorned while you live, as the authors of the first attack on the constitution of your country. Its destroyers you cannot be. You may disturb its peace, you may interrupt the course of its prosperity, you may cloud its reputation for stability, but its tranquillity will be restored, its prosperity will return, and the stain upon its national honor will be transferred, and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who caused the disorder.—*Jackson's Proclamation.*

have grown up in the most enlightened country of the world. But so it was, and slavery, and the doctrine of state rights, which had now taken the form of the right of a state to secede from the Union at pleasure, caused the fearful civil strife which has lately terminated.

Had the people of the South resisted an illegal and oppressive taxation, they would have been justified, for no people are worthy of the name of freemen, who submit without resistance either by the ballot or by force to injustice and oppression.

But no such cause existed, and they rebelled against a beneficent government. Many of them, we trust, now realize this fact, and have returned to their allegiance with a fixed determination that the future shall in some degree atone for the past. We have reason to be grateful to God that in that struggle slavery and treason were crushed, and that freedom now exists throughout the length and breadth of our fair land.

I have thus endeavored to trace the progress of liberty from the earliest ages until the present time. Incomplete as I feel that the sketch necessarily is, it would be more so did I not briefly refer in conclusion to the character and services of the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln.

His personal characteristics, though so well known and so often dwelt upon, are worthy of the

profound study and deep reflection of those for whom he lived and died. He stands with Washington, Hampden, William of Orange, and other great benefactors of their race, a colossal and beautiful pillar in the temple of liberty.

Abraham Lincoln had a great heart, and a powerful intellect. Though not highly cultured, his mind was one of remarkable originality. As an orator, while by no means graceful, he was eloquent and attractive, and was capable of grasping an important subject in all its bearings. As a writer he had, as the world knows, a large degree of rugged strength, and a peculiar simplicity of style, while he sometimes exhibited a fine imagination. Owing to his want of early advantages, his language was at times somewhat imperfect, but this was more than compensated for by the sound philosophy and lofty sentiment which pervaded it. So elevated, on some occasions, were his thoughts, and so perfectly adapted to the wants of the people his words, that it seemed as if the guardian genius of America, having descended from the blissful realms of perpetual freedom, was bending over him, and inspiring him with

"Thoughts that breathe and words that burn."

Though eminently serious and thoughtful, he was fortunately endowed by nature with a fund of mirthfulness, by which he sometimes cheered himself and

others, but even this lighter mood, which was perhaps occasionally indulged too far, had a method in it and told for freedom.

While seeming to follow, and thinking it a high honor to be the servant of the people, he often led public sentiment, and it could be as truly said that the voice of Lincoln was the voice of the people as that the voice of the people was the voice of Lincoln. Their united voice, there is reason to believe, was the voice of God.

Like other eminent benefactors of their race, he was girded by a higher power with strength for the emergency. Like them also his influence did not cease with the termination of his earthly existence, but, though its character was changed, losing the personal and becoming entirely spiritual, it grows more and more extensive as time passes away.

He possessed in a remarkable degree that attribute of genius, simplicity, and that characteristic of moral heroism, self-forgetfulness. Standing in the night of war and desolation on the Rock of Independence, and waving the torch of liberty, he beheld beneath him the countless generations of the future. He therefore acted with prudence and discretion. Owing to his superior wisdom he held in control those partialities which, though they might be useful in others, would, if pursued by him, have injured the cause which he was anxious to serve.

Desirous of being guided by the truth, he generally had an intuitive perception of what was truth. He believed that the Constitution meant life to the nation. Animated by its spirit, and inspired by the genius of liberty, he raised aloft the glittering sword of emancipation which flashed forth a heavenly light amid the surrounding gloom, and, like him of Macedon, cut the knot which had baffled the efforts of the wisest to untie, and the government, the constitution and freedom were saved, and slavery "tottered to its fall." In manner he showed the utmost gentleness and affability, so that no one need fear to approach him. Though occupying the highest position in the land, he delighted to condescend to men of humble station. Indeed, upon his generous mind, grades of society in themselves had no influence, and the man was measured by his soul.

The groans of the oppressed fell heavily upon his heart, and when an opportunity offered he came to their relief. He regarded every faithful soldier as his friend, and treated him as such. He sympathized with and relieved the sick and wounded. He assisted and consoled the widow and the fatherless. He loved his friends, and was true to them, both in prosperity and adversity, and even if at times they grew cold toward him. He loved his enemies, and did not triumph over them. He loved the cause of freedom,

and to it he paid "the last full measure of devotion." He loved his God, his country, and the human race, and his name will descend to posterity as the great martyr of liberty.

Let us cherish his memory, honor his precepts, and act in the spirit of that immortal document—which will occupy an equally high position in the history of liberty with the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence—the Proclamation of Freedom.

Then shall we have a country worthy of Washington and our revolutionary fathers, worthy of Lincoln and the patriots of our own time, worthy of the respect of the world.*

* "Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. We say that we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows that we do know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility! In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free, honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not, cannot fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.

Dec. 1st, 1862. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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APPENDIX.

I.—Changes in Europe and Elsewhere since the Late Rebellion.

In 1865 there were liberal tendencies exhibited in England, Italy and Spain. In Sweden a new and more liberal constitution was adopted by the Estates.

In 1866 occurred the great German Italian War, by which Prussia rose, Austria fell, and Italy obtained Venetia which had been so long oppressed.

The conflict between the progressives and the conservatives was carried on this year in nearly every important nation in Europe. Ireland was greatly agitated by the Fenian movement.

In 1867 the North German Confederation was formed, which rendered Germany so powerful in the late war with France.

In 1868 in England the progressive party gained ground and obtained an enlargement of the franchise. In Spain the progressive party under the leadership of General Prim made a second unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the government. This year was one of great importance to Austria for she then abandoned her system of centralization, and adopted a system of dualism, by which the empire was divided into two administrations with two ministers and two parliaments, the one at Vienna for the German and Slavic crown lands, the other for Hungary and Transylvania,

Croatia and Slavonia, which latter countries were again recognized as dependencies of Hungary.

The revised constitution of Austria adopted by the Reichstadt, and approved by the Emperor, was promulgated December 22d, and is one of the most liberal constitutions of Continental Europe.

The following advantages were also gained by the party of progress in Europe during 1868. A revolution in Spain overthrew the throne of Isabella, and as a result universal suffrage was engrafted upon the Spanish constitution. The liberal party obtained a great victory in England. Resolutions were passed in the House of Commons in favor of disestablishing the State church of Ireland, and a liberal cabinet was formed under the leadership of Gladstone. In Austria the concordat of 1855 was abolished, and the principles of civil and religious liberty took deep root throughout the land.

Turkey made some liberal reforms in respect to Christians. In France the rigor of the laws against the press was somewhat relaxed.

In 1869 the liberals in France gained ground by the election, and the emperor made promises of an abandonment of personal and a restoration of constitutional or parliamentary government.

In Great Britain the liberal ministry of Gladstone carried out one of the greatest reform measures in the history of that nation during the present century, the disestablishment of the Anglican church of Ireland.

In our own country February of this year witnessed the passage of the Fifteenth article of amendment to the constitution, giving the right of suffrage to every citizen of the United States without respect to race or color or previous servitude, and early in 1870 it was ratified by three-fourths of the States.

1870 ! Year long to be remembered. Scarcely had the Plebiscite of the eighth of May confirmed the reigning

dynasty of France, and given Napoleon the assurance that the Prince Imperial should succeed him as emperor, when suddenly a little cloud no larger than a man's hand appeared in the southern sky. Upon the flimsy pretext of the Hohenzollern candidature Napoleon and the French Empire declared war against Germany, the result of which was an unparalleled disaster to the French arms, and humiliation of the French nation, while the great emperor, who not long since had seemed a mighty power in Europe, became a captive and an exile.

The day before the declaration of war by France the dogma of Papal Infallibility was promulgated by the Œcumenical Council at Rome, but the close of 1870 beheld the infallible Pontiff divested of his temporal power, and king Victor Emanuel enter the Eternal city in triumph.

The year 1871 saw the fall of the Commune, a monster of license, after a terrible struggle, and the establishment of the republic of France with Thiers as President.

The other prominent events of the year which indicated progress were the adoption of the ballot by the English House of Commons, the abolition of the purchase system in the British army, and Rome made the capital of free and united Italy. Also in this country occurred the ferreting out and punishment of the Ku Klux outrages, which was largely due to the firm and vigorous administration of the Conqueror of the Rebellion.

Toward the close of the year there was some agitation in England excited by Sir Charles Dilke in favor of a republic.

In Brazil a bill was passed for the abolition of slavery. From the time of the passage of this law the children born of a slave within the empire were considered free born. This was owing largely to the generous and high-minded policy of the emperor Dom Pedro.

1872. One of the most interesting events of the year was the Geneva Arbitration for the settlement of the Ala-

bama claims, by which the sum of $15,500,000 in gold was awarded to be paid by Great Britain to the United States for losses upon the sea during the rebellion.

In England Sir Charles Dilke in the House of Commons moved an inquiry in regard to the expense of royalty. The ballot act, an important measure for home government, passed.

The conservatives came into power under the lead of D'israeli, a seeming backward step in the matter of enlightened progress.

1873. Home rule was much discussed this year in Ireland.

An interesting correspondence took place between the Pope and the Emperor of Germany, in which the latter endeavored to explain to the former certain measures of his government which he deemed necessary for the safety of the state.

McMahon, the distinguished general, was elected President of the republic of France in the place of that eminent statesman, historian, and orator, Thiers. At the close of the year Spain was a republic under the lead of the gifted and patriotic Castelar.

The United States and Switzerland immediately recognized the new government.

1874. An important decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was rendered this year which was of value in confirming the late constitutional amendments.

The death of Charles Sumner removed from us a strong and beautiful pillar in the temple of liberty.

Spain went back again to a monarchy and internal dissension.

1875. Mr. Plimsoll's attack in the House of Commons upon the government of Great Britain was one of the noticeable events of the year. Bold and excited as it was it turned the attention of the nation to the flagrant wrongs of the seamen, and forced the government to change its selfish policy of sacrificing human life for lucre. The result was

the passage after prolonged opposition of the Unseaworthy Ships Bill.

The death of Vice President Henry Wilson removed another noble champion of human progress from our midst, but the cause still progresses. The death of Horace Greeley which preceded that of Mr. Sumner, was one of the sad and memorable events since "the Great Conflict," the history of which he so ably portrayed.

1876. In Spain, by a vote in the Cortes of 220 yeas to 84 nays, the clause of the Constitution establishing religious liberty was passed notwithstanding the prolonged and determined opposition of the Pope. Marvelous! Japan awakes, China is opening, and Egypt moves. May it prove a glorious triumph.—*Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia* (*mostly*).

II.—The number who served in the Union Army and in that of the Confederacy in the Rebellion.

"The whole number of men from time to time called into the national service during the war (of the Rebellion) was 2,688,523.

As many of these were mustered in twice, and some thrice, while hundreds of thousands deserted who were never under fire, it is probable that not more than 1,500,000 effectively participated in suppressing the Rebellion. The total population whence these were drawn, including the available portion of the Southern Blacks, cannot be computed higher than 25,000,000, so more than one-tenth of the entire male population of the United States who were not Rebels must have actively participated in the suppression of the Rebellion.

Of the 1,500,000 who fought on our side, 56,000 fell dead on the field, and 35,000 more are recorded as dying in hospital of wounds; while 184,000 perished there by dis-

ease. It is probable that enough more died after their discharge, of diseases or infirmities contracted in the service, to swell our aggregate loss by the war from 280,420 to 300,000. Of our whites enlisted one-tenth died in the service; of the 180,000 blacks, 29,298 died, or nearly one in six. Of these eight in every nine died in hospital, proving the blacks either less hardy than whites, or their exposure far greater. . . If we may presume the losses of the Rebels equal to those of the Unionists (and the percentage of mortality among their wounded was probably greater, because of their inferior hospital service, and sanitary arrangements) the actual aggregate loss of life, because of the war, is swelled to 600,000. Add 400,000 crippled or permanently disabled by disease, and the total subtraction from the productive force of our country because of the Rebellion reaches the stupendous aggregate of 1,000,000 men."—*Greeley's American Conflict.*

III.—A BRIEF HISTORY OF SLAVERY.

It is hard to realize what a curse to mankind slavery has been. It was in existence at the dawn of history and has continued in some form until the present time. The Phœnicans, Assyrians, Persians, Chinese, Greeks and Romans, all practiced it through war, commerce, piracy, and kidnapping. Gibbon estimates the number of slaves in the Roman Empire during the reign of Claudius to be sixty millions. Though Christianity greatly lessened the horrors of slavery, it still continued fostered by conquest and commerce. It was one of the chief causes of the decline of Rome. It was practiced by Christians and by Saracens, they mutually enslaving each other. In fact the word Slave is derived from Slavi, a nation who were continually at war with the Germans, and

very many of whom were taken captive. The commercial republics of Italy made great profit in slave-trading. The conquest of England by the Saxons introduced slavery into that country, which was increased by the Norman conquest. During the war at the close of the middle ages, Mussulmans enslaved Christians and Christians Mussulmans. African slavery belongs almost exclusively to modern times, and was a consequence of maritime discovery in the fifteenth century. Portugal took the lead, but the number of slaves exported yearly from Africa was comparatively small until America was discovered, as Europe did not afford a good field for the labor of black slaves.

Immediately after this event the slave trade commenced to grow with rapidity, for though the Spaniards also enslaved the Indians, the negroes could perform better the labor which they required.

Not only the Portuguese and the Spaniards took part in the slave traffic, but even the English engaged in it, and in the times of the Stuarts four English companies were chartered for the purpose of carrying on the African slave trade, of one of which Charles II. and James II. were members. These companies, with the sanction of parliament, furnished negroes for America. The French, Dutch and other European nations also engaged in the traffic. Before 1776 three hundred thousand negroes had been brought hither. Some of the Colonies remonstrated against it, but unsuccessfully, as the mother country encouraged it. At last in 1776 the Continental Congress passed a resolution that no more slaves should be imported, but, at the formation of the Constitution in 1788, Congress resolved not to interdict the traffic before 1808. The fathers of the republic, Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Franklin and Jay, were all opposed to slavery as antagonistic to the spirit of free institutions, and to Christianity, and it was their hope and expectation that it would gradually die out. Hence they did not grapple with the evil at the time, and in framing the constitution

allowed the system certain advantages. Afterwards slave labor became exceedingly profitable on account of the invention of the cotton gin, and the feelings of the people of the South, who had been really opposed to slavery in colonial and revolutionary times underwent an entire change.—*New American Cyclopædia.*

They afterwards claimed that the Africans were naturally an inferior race, and endeavored to draw their arguments for holding them in bondage from the Bible. So much enamored had they become of their "peculiar institution," at the time of the breaking out of the rebellion, that Alexander H. Stephens, uttering the sentiment of the South, declared slavery to be the cornerstone of the Confederacy. It is estimated that forty millions of the African race have been sold into slavery. The spirit of slavery has done great mischief in the South since the war. Its victims have been many more than were slain in the martyrdoms of bloody Mary, and it has kept alive feelings of rancor and bitterness toward the blacks and toward the loyal whites which has greatly hindered emigration and all prosperity. *The number of those who have endured the wrongs of slavery during the history of the world must be many millions.* J. F. A.

IV.—The leading measures adopted by Congress and sanctioned by the nation for securing to the colored people the boon of liberty and full American citizenship.

"The first blow at the 'divine' institution of slavery was a bill, which became a law in August, 1861, confiscating all property and setting free all slaves used in aid of the rebellion.

January 25, 1862, a law was passed prohibiting the use of the jails of this district (Columbia) for the imprisonment of fugitive slaves.

The great measure emancipating the three thousand slaves of this district passed both Houses of Congress and was signed by the President in April, 1862.

On the 13th of March, 1862, a bill became a law forbidding and punishing the return of fugitive slaves coming into our lines, by naval and military officers.

March 6 of the same year the President had recommended the passage of a joint resolution proposing a cooperation between the general government and the slave States for the general abolition of slavery, on the principle of compensation to the owners. During the month a bill covering this suggestion passed both houses, and was signed by the President April 10.

The bill abolishing the long-existing, odious distinctions in this district against the colored people, such as taxing them for the education of white children and denying them all benefit from the tax, became a law in May.

June 19, 1862, the President signed a bill, which had passed both houses, prohibiting slavery forever in all the territories of the United States.

June, 1862, a law was enacted establishing diplomatic relations with the republics of Liberia and Hayti.

In July of the same year, a law was passed conferring upon colored persons the right to testify in courts of justice; also prohibiting the inter-State, coastwise slave trade.

In July, 1862, a bill became a law emancipating slaves coming within our lines whose masters were in rebellion, and all slaves found in places captured by our troops.

July 7, 1862, President Lincoln approved a bill punishing the infamous practice of using the American flag for the protection of vessels engaged in the slave trade, in open defiance, as had grown to be the practice, of a plain constitu-

tional provision. Under the provisions of this act one Gordon, captured while engaged in the slave trade, was tried, convicted and executed.

July 17, 1862, a law was enacted, authorizing the enlistment and military organizations of colored men.

September 22, 1862, President Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring that on the first of January ensuing, he should issue another, proclaiming all persons free in such States as might be named. And on that day the immortal declaration *declaring all slaves forever free* in Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, North and South Carolina, and Virginia, was issued.

March, 1863, a law was enacted incorporating an institution for the education of colored youths, to be located in this District, from which has grown up the Howard University.

A law was enacted in February, 1864, enrolling all colored men, whether slaves or not, into the national forces, allowing loyal masters a bounty of $300 for their slaves—afterwards reduced to $100 bounty. But this was wholly repealed in 1867.

On the 11th of June, 1864, a bill became a law placing colored soldiers on a footing of equality in all respects with white soldiers.

June 28, 1864, a bill was signed repealing the infamous fugitive-slave law.

In 1864 a law was passed allowing colored men to contract for carrying the mails.

The year before the act was passed prohibiting all distinctions on account of race or color in the public conveyances of this District.

The law creating the Freedman's Bureau was passed early in the year 1865.

January 27, 1865, the famous thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, which had previously been approved by the Senate, passed the House of Representatives, *forever abolishing slavery in the United States.*

During this year acts were passed repealing the various measures enacted by the southern States under Johnson's rule designed to reëstablish slavery in another form, authorizing the disgraceful apprenticeship system, the law in regard to vagrancy, and authorizing the whipping of negroes.

The same year a law was passed abolishing the system of peonage slavery in New Mexico.

In December, 1865, a resolution passed both houses of Congress appointing the joint committee on reconstruction, to whom was referred the credentials of all persons claiming seats from Johnson's reconstructed States, and all measures in regard to reconstruction.

February 28, 1866, an act was passed declaring that none of the rebel States were entitled to representation in Congress until Congress shall have declared such right.

In April, 1866, the civil-rights bill, which Johnson had vetoed, became a law by receiving the necessary two-thirds majority.

June 13, 1866, the fourteenth amendment was passed, making all persons born or naturalized in the United States citizens, prohibiting the States from passing any law which shall abridge the annuities or privileges of such citizens, defining who shall be Senators or Representatives, protecting the civil rights of all citizens, declaring that the validity of the public debt shall never be questioned, and prohibiting the United States and the several States from ever assuming or paying the rebel debt, and rendering it illegal and void.

In December, 1866, Congress passed, over Johnson's veto, an act establishing universal suffrage in this District.

In January, 1867, a bill was passed declaring that within no territory of the United States should suffrage be denied on account of race, color or former condition.

In February, 1867, the fifteenth amendment, securing to colored men the right of suffrage, and forever prohibiting its withdrawal, passed both branches of Congress.

In March, 1869, a law was passed striking the word

white from all the ordinances of this District, destroying all discrimination against colored men in such laws or ordinances.

In May, 1870, the bill known as the enforcement act became a law, its object being to protect colored men in all the rights to which other citizens are entitled.

In April, 1871, Congress passed what is known as the Ku-Klux act, giving the President power to protect the loyal people of the South against organized bands of assassins, and rendering the people of a county or city, under certain conditions, responsible for the damages done therein by these outlaws."—*New National Era.*

V.—An Item of History.

"Nothing so effectually demonstrates the fact that the world moves, as to note some of the wonderful changes which have taken place in men and things—ideas and institutions—during the last forty or fifty years. A few days ago occurred the fortieth anniversary of the great pro-slavery riot in Boston, when a mob of several thousand headed by "gentlemen of property and standing," as represented by the Boston papers, invaded the rooms of the female anti-slavery society, broke up the meeting, and handled Mr. William Lloyd Garrison so roughly that he was glad to find shelter from their rage within the walls of even Seventh street jail, whither he was dragged with a rope about his neck.

The following inscription made by himself upon the walls of his cell, serves to point the tale: 'William Lloyd Garrison was put into this jail, Wednesday P. M., October 21, 1835, to save him from the violence of a respectable and influential mob, who sought to destroy him for preaching the abominable and dangerous doctrine that all men are born

free and equal, and that all oppression is hateful in the sight of God. 'Hail Columbia!' Cheers for the autocrat of Russia, and the sultan of Turkey! Reader, let this inscription remain till the last slave in this despotic land is loosed from his fetters!'"—*Vermont Chronicle.*

VI.—Constitution of Civil Government adopted in the Cabin of the May-flower.

"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, Defender of the Faith, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the christian faith, and honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, king James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620."

Forty-one names are appended to this heaven-born instrument.

VII.—Christianity the great promoter of civil liberty.

"At the memorable meeting of 'the prelates and barons of the kingdom' at which it was agreed to demand of King John their lost privileges, and which resulted in the signing of 'the Great Charter of the liberties of England,' an *archbishop* "led the storm." We glory in the Reformation, as a great advance in the cause of human liberty; and most justly. But who led the way in the Reformation? Clergymen and members of the church. It was a reformation in the church, brought about by the spirit of liberty in its own bosom. The first martyrs to that spirit were ministers and their adherents. Wickliffe and Huss, and Jerome of Prague, and Luther, were all divines. Was not the Puritan a friend of liberty? To whom but the clergy and their followers do we owe our own free institutions? We have no sympathy with clerical usurpation; no toleration for ecclesiastical pride and luxury and indolence. But let the church and its ministers have their due. They have not eradicated tyranny and iniquity. They have too often indulged and fostered it. But let the mass of free sentiment, of liberal feeling, which has been expressed by the human mind be ascribed to its true authors; let the sacrifice of personal interest and of life in the cause of liberty be estimated; let the clergy and the christian world have the credit of what belongs to them; and we have no reason, as freemen, to be ashamed of the gospel or the history of its followers."—*Haddock's Addresses and Miscellaneous Writings.*

VIII. Remarkable prediction of the future greatness of America.

"Assuming that the number of persons whom a square mile can sustain without pressure is one hundred and fifty

at the latitude of fifty degrees, we have twenty-six as the sum which expresses the productiveness of this parallel. Then taking for the sake of simplicity, thirty-five as the index of the productiveness of the useful soil beyond thirty deg. in America, and eighty-five as that of the country within the parallel of thirty deg. on each side of the equator, we have about 4,100,000 square miles, each capable of supporting two hundred persons. It follows that, if the natural resources of America were fully developed, it would afford sustenance to 3,600,000,000 of inhabitants, a number five times as great as the entire mass of human beings existing at present upon the globe. And, what is more surprising, there is every probability that this prodigious population will be in existence within three, or at most four centuries. The imagination is lost in contemplating a state of things which will make so great and rapid a change in the condition of the world. We almost fancy that it is a dream; and yet the result is based on principles quite as certain as those which govern the conduct of men in their ordinary pursuits. There are many elements of disorder now operating in Spanish-America, but these are merely the dregs left by the old Spanish despotism; and the *Anglo-American republic is a pole-star to guide the people in their course towards freedom and prosperity.* Nearly all social improvements spring from the reciprocal influence of condensed numbers and diffused intelligence. What then will be the state of society in America two centuries hence, when a thousand or two thousand millions of civilized men are crowded into a space comparatively so narrow, and when this immense mass of human beings speak only two languages. We take it for granted that the Portuguese will merge into the Spanish, and it is clear to us that the Russian will never obtain a footing in the New World. Such a state of things may be said to undo the curse of Babel, and restore the great mass of mankind to their pristine facility of intercourse, for the languages spoken by the communities of Europe and Asia

will be as unimportant then, in the general scale of the globe, as the dialects of Hungary, Finland and Bohemia are in Europe at this day. History shows that wealth, power, science, literature, all follow in the train of numbers, general intelligence and freedom.

The same causes which transferred the sceptre of civilization from the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile to Western Europe must, in the course of no long period, carry it from the latter to the plains of the Mississippi and the Amazon. Society, after all, is in its infancy ; the habitable world, when its productive powers are regarded, may be said hitherto to have been an untenanted waste. If any one suspects us of drawing on our fancy, we would request him to *examine thoroughly* the *condition* and *past progress of the North American Republic. Let him look at its amazing strides in wealth, intelligence, and social improvements ; at its indestructible liberty ; and above all at the prodigious growth of its population ; and let him answer the question to himself, What power can stop the tide of civilization which is pouring from this single source over an unoccupied world?"—Encyclopædia Britannica.*

IX.—De Tocqueville concerning America.

De Tocqueville thus addresses his countrymen during the French Revolution of 1848, in his preface to "Democracy in America."

"Let us look to America, not in order to make a servile copy of the institutions which she has established, but to gain a clearer view of the polity which will be the best for us ; let us look there less to find examples than instruction ; let us borrow from her the principles rather than the details of her laws. The laws of the French Republic may

be, and ought to be, in many cases different from those which govern the United States; but the principles on which the American Constitutions rest, those principles of order, of the balance of power, of true liberty, of deep and sincere respect for right, are indispensable to all republics, they ought to be common to all; and it may be said beforehand that wherever they shall not be found, the republic will soon have ceased to exist."

X.—The opinions of eminent Foreigners concerning America.

Kindly Letter from the Czar of Russia.

Mr. President:—At a moment when the people of the United States celebrate the Centennial period of their national existence, I desire to express to you the sentiments with which I take part in this celebration. The people of the United States may contemplate with pride the immense progress which their energy has achieved within the period of a century. I especially rejoice that, during this centennial period, the friendly relations of our respective countries have never suffered interruption; but on the contrary, have made themselves manifest by proofs of mutual good-will. I therefore cordially congratulate the American people, in the person of their President, and I pray that the friendship of the two countries may increase with their prosperity. I embrace this occasion to offer to you at the same time the assurance of my sincere esteem and of my high consideration.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

To His Excellency General Grant.
Ems, June 6, 1876.

The Emperor of Germany's greeting.

William, by the grace of God emperor of Germany, king of Prussia, etc., etc., to the President of the United States of America:

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: It has been vouchsafed to you to celebrate the centennial festival of the day upon which the great republic over which you preside entered the rank of independent nations. The purposes of its founders have by a wise application of the teachings of the history of the foundation of nations, and with insight into the distant future, been realized by a development without a parallel. To congratulate you and the American people upon the occasion affords me so much the greater pleasure, because, since the treaty of friendship which my ancestor of glorious memory, King Frederick the Second, who now rests with God, concluded with the United States, undisturbed friendship has continually existed between Germany and America, and has been developed and strengthened by the ever-increasing importance of their mutual relations and by an intercourse becoming more and more fruitful in every domain of commerce and science. That the welfare of the United States and the friendship of the two countries may continue to increase, is my sincere desire and confident hope.

Accept the renewed assurance of my unqualified esteem.

WILLIAM.

Countersigned—VON BISMARCK.

Berlin, June 9, 1876.

The king of Italy's friendly assurance.

Victor Emanuel II., by the Grace of God and the Will of the Nation, King of Italy, to the President of the United States of America, greeting:

MY DEAR AND GOOD FRIEND: On the day upon which the great American Republic celebrates the Centen-

nial anniversary of its existence, it is our desire to address our congratulations and those of our people to you personally, and to the nation over which you preside, and which with admirable ability you have succeeded in directing to its noble destiny. Neither the distance which separates us, nor any difference of race, will ever weaken in us and in our people that firm friendship which unites us with the brave American nation, with which for one hundred years Italy has had relations productive of mutual esteem. We are inclined to convey to you these sentiments so much the more readily because, for the purpose of the more worthily celebrating the memorable day by the monster exhibition at Philadelphia, you were pleased to invite to the festival all the nations of the earth. Accept the assurances of our highest esteem and friendship, together with the prayers which we offer to God that He may have you, my very dear friend, in His holy keeping. Given at Rome, on the 11th of June, 1876.

Your good friend,

VICTOR EMANUEL.

Countersigned : MELIGARI.

Bismarck's opinion of the American Government.

"Bismarck himself publicly declared his conviction that popular representation as exemplified in the United States was the only sure and permanent foundation on which the governing system of a great people could rest. It was a remarkable and significant thing that Bismarck, who had so long been regarded by Englishmen as a living symbol of the most dogged and uncompromising toryism, should come to receive as he did, the public and cordial thanks of the English Reform League, (then the most radical organization in England, composed of men who regard John Bright as slow and conservative) for his practical and complete recognition of the fundamental principles of free government. I presume we may take Bismarck's own word for it that he had learned

his great lesson in the art of government from the teachings of the American war. *The echo of Appomatox rolled along the Rhine, Elbe, the Spree and the Danube."—Lippincott's Magazine.*

Rev. Dr. Dörner, of Germany.

In a speech of the Rev. Dr. Dörner of Berlin after his return from the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at New York, he said: "Out of the mixed peoples of America is growing a new homogeneous race, full of fire and energy, full of youthful force and enterprise. Christianity has there conquered a new land. Columbus was encouraged by the hope that the new land would serve to the honor of our Redeemer. That is not accomplished in the sense for which Columbus hoped, through the conversion of the heathen, but in a far higher sense. The discovery of America has not only a chronological but also a philosophical connection with the Reformation; for as it were a new land arose from out the sea, *to serve as a bulwark and a reserve for the church of the Reformation."*

It is an interesting fact that Rev. Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, for many years the honored pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City, has recently delivered by invitation a course of lectures in Berlin on "the History and Progress of the United States." These lectures have been received by the Germans with very great favor, and the "Art Saloon" where they were delivered was crowded with intelligent and enthusiastic listeners.

Rev. Dr. Parker, of England.

"It is not very agreeable to my patriotic impulses, to say, and yet I must say it, that *America is, in my opinion, on the point of laying its hands on the supremacy of the world. England has a magnificent history, but America has a still more magnificent future."*

Public statement made by Rev. Dr. Parker in Exeter

Hall, London, after his return from the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance.

An English Liberal on the Promise of America.

"Thomas Hughes, in reviewing in the London *Academy* Mr. Ingersoll's 'Fears for Democracy,' remarks: 'The study of democracy in America has been one of no ordinary difficulty up to a very recent date. Their political literature has been so confident and jubilant, and has so steadily ignored or treated so lightly, the facts which seemed of the gravest moment to Englishmen, that serious men turned aside from it in despair. All this is now changed. The difficulty is rather nowadays to find in the speeches or writings of the foremost men, or even in the newspapers or magazines of America, any of that jubilant talk, which used to be so common, as to the absolute perfection of their institutions, and the almost infallible political wisdom of "the fathers." This tone, excusable enough in a young nation,—conscious of its own powers, but which has never made its proofs,—has gradually disappeared since the war; till, at last, our cousins have come to speak of their own political and social short-comings with a frankness and severity which is taking the bread out of the mouths of their candid friends on this side of the Atlantic. To their well wishers, among whom we desire to be reckoned, the change is full of hope. A nation which, on the eve of a centenary so full of promise as that of the United States, seems bent before all things on probing its own weak places, is giving the surest pledge that its manhood will not disgrace its youth.' As regards the vaticinations of Ingersoll, who thinks all the trouble came from the anti-slavery movement, Mr. Hughes disagrees. He thinks the civil war and its issue prove that "under all the superficial evils of American public life there does exist still a healthy public conscience, which, though not easily aroused, when roused, can sweep aside the wire-puller's and

politician's machinations like cobwebs.' Traces of the same public conscience he perceives in 'the collapse of the soft money movement.'" *Rutland Herald.*

Pierre Duval, of France.

"For my own part, when I wander through the streets of a great city of the Union, through streets which the day before were filled with a noisy and restless multitude, when I find myself alone in the broad alleys, where the day before I was crowded, pushed and impeded at every step; when I find silence, rest and emptiness reigning every where except in the churches; when I consider that this mass of people has withdrawn itself to pray and commune together, I am filled with awe; I confess it; I become seriously and religiously impressed; I comprehend why this people is a great people; I understand why for the past century *it has been a free, yes, the freest people* that exist."—

From PIERRE DUVAL on the influence of the Sabbath upon liberty in America.

Victor Hugo, of France.

"Victor Hugo made a eulogistic speech on America at a large meeting in Paris. He declared "that America was indebted to France for the abolition of slavery. France, he said, would be indebted to America for amnesty, and the twentieth century would witness the United States of America clasping the United States of Europe in a brotherly embrace." The orator was enthusiastically applauded. Mr. Hugo's orations, no less than his poems and novels, proclaim him the most imaginative of Frenchmen."—*N. Y. Observer.*

Von Beust, of Austria.

"VIENNA, July 6, 1869.—The American minister, John Jay, gave a dinner on the 4th. All the ambassadors at the court of Vienna were present. Count Von Beust proposed

the health of President Grant, who, he said, was the chief of a great republic, whose brave soldiers had reconquered the Union, and whose swords were now turned to olive branches. Minister Jay expressed an opinion that the Anglo-American treaty would prevent wars hereafter by the establishment of an international court of arbitration. Count Von Beust, in reply, doubted the ability of any power to restrain the natural quarrelsomeness of mankind, and said that hitherto mediation had only been tolerated and arbitration rejected. He expressed his sincere belief that the United States were friendly toward all powers, and concluded by drinking to the long life and prosperity of the great republic. Speeches were made by other prominent personages, in all of which the most friendly sentiments were expressed toward the United States."—*Telegraphic Message.*

Castelar, of Spain.

"Nations are like bee-hives. Each nation contributes to fabricate the honey of universal life. Ideas, wherever scattered, reforms, wherever matured, change the human conscience. When from our narrow horizon we turn our eyes to the whole planet, we see that the continents are ruled by universal and incontestible laws.

"Asia is the immemorable land of the past, the patriarchal land of the empires, the theocracies, the castes. Europe is the volcanic land of the present, the arena of combat between the ancient powers and the new ideas.

"*America, and especially Saxon America, with its immense virgin territory, with its republic, with its equilibrium between stability and progress, with its harmony between liberty and democracy, is the continent of the future—the immense continent stretched by God between the Atlantic and Pacific, where mankind may plant, essay, and resolve all social problems.* (Loud cheers).

"The present moment is supreme and anguishing. The

last years of the nineteenth century which are fast approaching may be as grave and as solemn as the last years of the eighteenth century in which was installed the first French revolution.

"Europe has to decide, whether she will confound herself with Asia, placing upon her lands old altars, and upon the altars old idols, and upon the idols immovable theocracies, and upon the theocracies despotic empires, or *whether she will go by labor, by liberty, and by the republic to collaborate with America in the grand work of universal civilization.*"

From speech of CASTELAR on the royal message, in the Spanish Cortez, 1871.

XI.—FROM "PROPHETIC VOICES CONCERNING AMERICA," BY CHARLES SUMNER.

"There shall come a time in later ages, when ocean shall relax his claims, and a vast continent shall appear, and a pilot shall find new worlds, and Thule shall be no more the earth's bounds."—*Seneca's Medea*, 1400 *years before Columbus.*

"The daylight, hastening with winged steps,
Perchance to gladden the expectant eyes
Of far off nations in a world remote."—PETRARCH; before Columbus.

"Men shall descry another hemisphere,
Since to one common centre all things tend;
So earth by curious mystery divine
Well balanced hangs amid the starry spheres.
At our Antipodes are cities, states
And thronged empires, ne'er divined of yore:
But see, the sun speeds on his western path
To glad the nations with expected light."—PULCI; before Columbus.

"Religion stands on tiptoe in our land
Ready to pass to the American strand."—GEORGE HERBERT.

"When New England shall trouble new Spain,
When Jamaica shall be lady of the isles and the main;
When Spain shall be in America hid,
And Mexico shall prove a Madrid;
When Africa shall no more sell out their blacks
To make slaves and drudges to the American tracts;
When America shall cease to send out its treasure,
But employ it at home in American pleasure;
When the New World shall the old invade,
Nor count them their lords but their fellows in trade;
. . . . . .
Then think strange things have come to light,
Whereof but few have had a foresight."—SIR THOMAS BROWN; he died in 1682.

"Westward the star of empire takes its way;
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama of the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last."—BISHOP BERKELEY, 1726.

"And you will then see how the earth will be beautiful! What culture! What new arts and new sciences! What safety for commerce! Navigation will precipitate all the peoples toward each other. A day will come when one will go in a populous and regulated city of California, as one goes in the stage coach of Meaux."—MARQUIS D'ARGENSON, 1745.

"We have no news public or private; but there is an ostrich egg laid in America, where the Bostonians have canted three hundred chests of tea into the ocean; for they

will not drink tea with our parliament. . Lord Chatham talked of conquering America in Germany. I believe England will be conquered some day in New England or Bengal."—HORACE WALPOLE, Feb. 24, 1774.

"Many hundred years must roll away before we shall be corrupted. Our pure, virtuous, public spirited federative republic will last forever, govern the globe, and introduce the perfection of man."—JOHN ADAMS TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, Nov. 15, 1813.

"You will at this time have decided the greatest revolution of the globe; namely, if it is America which is to reign over Europe, or if it is Europe which is to continue to reign over America. I will wager in favor of America, for the reason, merely physical, that for five thousand years, genius has turned opposite to the diurnal motion, and travelled from the East to the West."—ABBÉ GALEANI, July 25, 1778.

"They (the Americans) are now but little short of half our number. To this number they have grown from a small body of original settlers by a very rapid increase. The probability is that they will go on to increase, and that in fifty or sixty years they will be double our number and form a mighty empire, consisting of a variety of States, all equal or superior to ourselves, in all the arts and accomplishments which give dignity and happiness to human life."—DR. RICHARD PRICE, 1776.

"I will not, I cannot, enter into the merits of the cause, but I dare say the American Congress, in 1776, will be allowed to be as able and enlightened as the English convention was in 1688; and that *their posterity will celebrate the centenary of their deliverance from us, as duly and sincerely as we do ours from the oppressive measures of the house of Stuart.*"—ROBERT BURNS, 1788.

"When an energetic and powerful nation, to which everything presages high destinies, stretching its arms upon the two oceans, Atlantic and Pacific, shall direct its vessels from one to the other by an abridged route—it may be in cutting the Isthmus of Panama; it may be in forming a canal communicating as has been proposed by the river St. John and the lake of Nicaragua—it will change the face of the commercial world and the face of empires.

"Who knows if America will not then avenge the outrages she has received, and if our old Europe, placed in the rank of a subaltern power, will not become a colony of the New World."—ABBÉ GRÉGOIRE.

"The Americans of the United States, whatever they do, will become one of the greatest peoples of the earth; they will cover with their offshoots almost all North America. The continent which they inhabit is their domain; it cannot escape them.

. . . . . .

Then will there arrive a time when there will be seen in North America 150,000,000 of men, equal together, who will all belong to the same family, who will have the same point of departure, the same civilization, the same language, the same religion, the same habits, the same manners, and one in which thought will circulate in the same form, and paint itself in the same colors. All else is doubtful, but this is certain. Here is a fact entirely new in the world, of which imagination can hardly seize the extent."—ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE.

XII.—LAND IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

"A very interesting compilation has been made recently by *The London Spectator* from the statistics of The Doomsday

Book as to the number of freeholders in England, and the size of their estates. It appears that in England and Wales something like one million of persons own land, and that forty-three thousand hold more than a hundred acres, while two hundred and eighty gentlemen own 5,424,764 acres, or a little less than one-sixth of the whole inclosed soil of England and Wales. These gentlemen are mainly of the highest ability, owning each from about 5,000 acres up to over 47,000 acres, the average being 19,378 acres.

"If a comparison in this matter be made with the United States, we are obliged merely to take the farming properties of the United States, as the small freeholds near the cities are not enumerated in our census. This, however, is a proper comparison, as the estates of the English nobility are nearly all agricultural properties. In 1870 there were 2,655,985 farms in the United States, in all probability each owned by a separate person, so that our number of freeholders is more than two and a half times that of England and Wales. The whole number of acres of land, both improved and unimproved, was 407,735,041; the average size of the farms being 153 acres.

"In any one division of acres, however, the largest number was between twenty and fifty—being 847,614 farms. Of farms over a hundred, there were 584,847, or more than thirteen times as many as in England. Of farms beyond a thousand acres, there were, in this country, only 3,720, the largest being in California. If we look over the list of the large English estates, we find that the rental will average some eight dollars per acre, so that the two hundred and eighty gentlemen mentioned above enjoy an income from real estate of some forty million dollars, or an average of about $147,858 each. Among these gentlemen we find the Duke of Norfolk, with 15,270 acres, and an income of over one million dollars; Sir James W. Ramsden, with a property of 8,589 acres, and an income of about $835,000; the Duke of Northumberland, with an estate of 181,616 acres, with a

rental of about $809,000; the Earl of Derby, with 47,269 acres, and a rental of some $708,000; Sir L. Palk, with 10,109 acres, and an income of about $546,000. These are the largest landholders with the greatest rentals, but there are a great number of others, with incomes from $30,000 up to $200,000, the average being, as we said before, nearly $150,000 each. When it is considered that this forty millions of dollars comes from real estate in the country alone, and does not include the rental from such immense properties as that of the Duke of Westminster in London, or others similarly situated, and no income from personal property or commercial undertakings, we can judge how vast a proportion of the solid wealth is accumulated in England in a few hands. This wealth is of the most permanent and safe description, and could hardly be affected by anything but a general revolution. These two hundred and eighty gentlemen could, if political influence and property were identical, return four times the number of members of parliament which are returned by London itself, and exercise more direct influence on legislation than the whole population of Scotland. The contrast with this country is certainly remarkable, where our 'territorial democracy' numbers over two and a half millions and the average size of the estates is 153 acres. This subdivision of land in the United States, not carried to the extreme of the French division, is undoubtedly one of the secrets of our past success, and the element which, in the future, will contribute most to the intelligence and prosperity of the people. We suffer, it is true, certain defects from the lack of a wealthy class of men necessarily interested in public affairs, but we shall ultimately derive compensation for these defects by the greater prosperity of the greater number."—*New York Times.*

XIII.—The State Church of England.

The State Church of England, however excellent it may be as a religious institution, as a political establishment is an impediment to progress in that country. It is a vast system of patronage. The crown appoints the two archbishops and twenty-six bishops. Then out of twelve thousand livings, thirteen hundred are at the disposal of the bishops, one thousand of the cathedrals, seven hundred of the two universities, over a thousand of the higher officers of state, fourteen hundred of three hundred peers and baronets, and six thousand five hundred are in the hands of four thousand private patrons, leaving only about seventy to the people.—*From Discourse of Rev. Charles Mason.*

XIV.—Church and State in England.

"The Archbishop of Canterbury has a yearly salary amounting to $60,000. The bishops of York and London receive $50,000 each, and $40,000 are paid to the Bishop of Durham, and the unique sum of $25,000 each to the remaining twenty-three bishops. In addition to these noble allowances, there are gratuities of palatial mansions, or rent-free estates, accorded to each of these eminent clerical officials. Then there are deans, arch-deacons, rural deans and other dignitaries to be handsomely provided for, nearly all of whom hold more than one office. These prodigious expenditures, coupled with the monopoly of the sale of 'livings,' have created a growing dissatisfaction with the governmental protection of the church, which advanced statesmen like Bright and Gladstone not only recognize, but would take immediate measures to reform altogether." — *Vermont Chronicle.*

XV.—The Disestablishment Movement.

"The disestablishment movement in England grows and grows. A liberation society was organized some years ago, for the purpose of agitating the question and enlightening the public mind on the subject. Two years ago a special fund of $200,000 was created, and the work was carried on on a larger scale. At the last annual meeting, held a few days ago, it was reported that nearly a thousand meetings have been held during the past year, some three hundred more than in previous years. Two million five hundred thousand copies of the society's publications have been issued. The income of the year shows an increase of above £1,000, the amount being £15,449 18s. 7d. The great success of the voluntary system in America and Scotland is fast weakening the venerable fallacy that Christianity cannot live without government support. In spite of the sweet luminousness of Matthew Arnold, it is plain that the interests of religion do not demand an establishment. Besides the powerlessness of the Establishment to protect itself against any heresy from Romanism, rationalism has alienated many of its best friends among the Dissenters. The only interests that would suffer by disestablishment are the interests of those who live by the Establishment. Hence the tears."—*Independent*, May, 1876.

XVI.—Liberation Society.

"At the annual meeting of this society, the object of which is to effect the severance of Church and State, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Mayor of Birmingham, presided and made the principal speech, in the course of which he said:

'Persecution is not inherent in religion. It is only imported into it when it becomes connected with the State.

Established religion has always been, and will always be, intolerant. Social union in this country would be easy enough if it were not for the traditional exclusiveness which has been handed down from a time when the State did not confine its interference to the patronizing of one sect, but undertook to persecute all the rest. The State Church has been an institution for the sanction of political injustice, and for the perpetuation of political abuses. It is not a society for the promotion of goodness. It is part of a vast mutual assurance against all change to which the landlord, the publican, and every vested right and privilege can be exposed. But, unfortunately, you and I are partners in the concern. We have been sleeping partners for too many years, receiving none of the profits of the transactions which are carried on. The time has come when we may ask the people of this country, and the working classes especially, whether national property cannot be better applied than to the frustration of objects which they have at heart, and the delay of reforms upon which they have set their minds.'"—*New York Observer*, June, 1876.

XVII.—Traffic in Sacred Things.

"Half the livings are private property and may be and are often bought and sold in the open or the secret market. We sell cotton on the exchange at Liverpool; you sell metals in the exchange at Birmingham; but all over the country there is going on from day to day a traffic in the most sacred and solemn offices in the church of England."—John Bright's *Speech at Birmingham in January*, 1875.

XVIII.—The Licensing System in England a Warning to us.

"In the United States this system is a problem working itself out tentatively. In England it is no longer a problem —no longer does it remain in the region of inquiry, or question, as to what the results may be. The issues of it are patent everywhere—in every city, town, village and hamlet of the land; and to the last degree they are pernicious. The experience of one country ought to furnish guidance and warning to the intelligence of another country, and may be of very special value when the countries themselves have so much in common. The system of issuing licenses for the establishment of saloons where men may legally congregate for drinking purposes, is practically a plan for creating vested interests of the most odious kind. These drinking saloons soon acquire a prescriptive right to exist. They become property, and property has its rights. These rights must be defended. The principle which protects property of one kind, throws its ægis around property of all kinds; necessarily so. Once admit that men in the community have a legal right to property in investments which are inseparable from demoralization, and there is no end to the multiplication of houses established for the purpose of demoralizing society, under the plea of meeting a necessity.

Those benevolent persons who are of opinion that the word 'license,' when applied to the sale of intoxicants, means *limitation* and *legislative control*, have only to study the working of the license laws in England, to arrive at an exactly opposite conclusion.

Theoretically, licensed drinking-houses in England bear some proportion to the number of inhabitants; *practically*, the inhabitants are treated with the most utter disregard; so much so that it is computed that, taking the country at large, there is one drinking house to every forty adult persons; and as one-third at least of the people never enter

such houses, it may be said, without exaggeration, that there is one drinking house to every twenty-seven of the adults who use them. No one can estimate the frightful amount of misery, and worse than misery, demoralization of soul, that such a fact implies. The appeals to the hearts of men and women have too often been made from the material miseries which intemperance brings—too little regardful of the fact that below this depth there is a deeper depth—that these palpable miseries are but the sign of a demoralized condition of soul that no language can adequately represent. Heartlessness, hopelessness, the death of all self-respect, the annihilation of all respect for others, a moral impenetrability which no revivalist in creation can break in upon—these are the most horrifying effects of a vice which is regarded as legalized when once its traffickers are licensed.

So much for the victims. But what of public sentiment, and what of the men who are in the forefront of this gigantic conspiracy against the peace and morals of the nation? There is nothing but warning in the reply to this question. In England public sentiment on the drinking-saloon business seems to be thoroughly alcoholized. The nation is degraded by it, from the throne to the poor-house. Everybody deplores the universal drunkenness of English workmen; yet no national action for arresting the spread of intemperance has ever in late years been possible. Manufactured wines and spirits are used everywhere—in gilded drawing-rooms, in quiet parlors, in cosy kitchens, in church vestries; and on all occasions—at births, marriages, at deaths, at morning calls, at evening parties, at dinners, at suppers, at every species of sociable that can be named.

Nothing has so tended to lower the standard of morals in England as the influence of this ubiquitous alcohol. And the great brewers, many of whom are members of Parliament, and other brewers who aspire to that and similar honors, are the proprietors of the great majority of these

licensed houses. And whenever their interests are attacked in Parliament, these men can afford to spend thousands upon thousands of pounds in the defence of their 'vested rights.' Millions of money are sunk in this business, until the brewers' corporation has become the most formidable interest in Great Britain. Legislation is paralyzed. Statesmen dare not touch the question. Almost to a man, the drinking-saloon fraternity voted for Mr. D'israeli's party at the last election, solely because Mr. Gladstone's government had made some feeble effort to legislate restrictively on this question.

These are some of the effects of a license law: the indefinite multiplication of drinking-houses, the gradual but sure degradation of the men who frequent them, the corruption of the public conscience, and the creation of a powerful corporation who eventually, by their *esprit de corps*, and by their wealth, block the way of all reformatory legislation, and make any national movement for the suppression or limitation of drinking-houses all but impossible. I have said nothing as to the enormous burden of taxation which attends this wholesale demoralization of the poorest of the people in England. Let the citizens of New England resist the beginnings of all license laws. They are only a delusion and a snare."—REV. REUEN THOMAS, in *Boston Congregationalist.*

XIX.—INTEMPERANCE AN IMMEASURABLE EVIL.

"When you take such words as some of the English judges, noted for the clearness of their views and the calm precision of their statements, have spoken of the relation of intemperance to crime; when you hear Justice Coleridge say, 'There is scarcely a crime comes before me that is not caused directly or indirectly by strong drink;' and Justice

Gurney: 'Every crime has its origin, more or less, in drunkenness;' and Justice Patterson, 'If it were not for this drinking, you [the jury] and I would have nothing to do;' and Justice Alderson, 'Drunkenness is the most fertile source of crime, and if it could be removed the assizes of the country would be rendered mere nullities;' and Justice Wightman, 'I find in the calendar that comes before me that the one unfailing source, directly or indirectly, of most of the crimes that are committed is intemperance,'—when we add to these words of the English judges the testimony of those familiar with criminal records here; when we find the city clerk of Boston declaring that of the offenders transported in the *Henry Morrison* to the Deer Island reformatories and other penal city institutions, eighty per cent are victims of strong drink; when we find the Massachusetts State Board of Charities, in their official report. 1866, declaring that intemperance is 'the chief occasion of crime,' and that 'probably more than eighty per cent of the criminals in this State come within the intemperate class;' when we find a distinguished judge and district attorney in Suffolk county—Hon. George R. Sanger—for many years familiar with the criminal courts of the Commonwealth, declaring that 'there are very few cases of crime into which the use of intoxicating liquors does not more or less enter;' when we push our inquiries with a similar result all over this country and over the civilized globe; and when we find also that intemperance is the fruitful source of pauperism as well as of crime, and that the cost of pauperism and crime to this Commonwealth alone is more than four millions of dollars per year; when we find that disease is so certain an attendant upon intemperance that no life insurance company will grant a policy to an individual addicted to it, and that, according to the carefully prepared tables of life insurance, the average length of life of the intemperate is twenty years less than that of other men; when we add to this fearful picture but a glimpse of the want and wretch-

edness of home and family, the degeneration of children, the dangers to society, the peril to every interest of the life that now is, and the woe threatened in the world to come—I say, if it be possible to paint this picture in too fearful colors, if it be possible to give this tremendous reality too terrible representation, I believe we have got to wait for the imagination, transcending that of Dante or Michael Angelo, which shall show itself adequate to the task."—REV. JULIUS H. SEELYE, *before the Congressional Temperance Society.*

XX.—BRAZILIAN STUDENTS. DOM PEDRO.

"In 1873 there were fifteen Brazilian students in Cornell University, N. Y. These started a monthly publication in the Portuguese language, called the 'Aurora Brasilevia,' with the especial purpose of circulating in their own country, educational and other news from the United States."—*Congregationalist.*

The Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro, who has lately visited this country, is one of the most liberal and enlightened of sovereigns, and has labored ardently for religious liberty in Brazil. Here is a pleasant picture of this good man, and noble representative of South America:

"We have never had on our shores a more enterprising visitor than the Emperor of Brazil, or one who has excited more hearty admiration for his republican manners and habits. From the day that he landed until the present time he has steadily refused to allow any demonstrations in recognition of his imperial position, and he has daily gone about his business of learning all that he can about our country and its institutions, showing that he came here to see and not to be seen. He has not rudely, but respectfully and

modestly, declined formal receptions, while he has freely mingled with the people at various social gatherings, as if he were one of the people. He took a somewhat conspicuous part at the opening of the International Exhibition, but this could not be avoided, inasmuch as Brazil has a share in the enterprise, and there was no one, next to our own President, who could with propriety take the place which was assigned to him.

"He has been an industrious sight-seer. The day after he landed he improved his time from early morn until midnight in seeing what he could of our city and its institutions, and after another day of laborious sight-seeing started at evening for the Pacific Ocean. He returned in time for the opening of the Exhibition, spending a day or two at Washington on his way back. On Friday morning, with the Empress and his suite of sixteen persons, he left again for the West, intending to go down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and return by the way of Mobile, Montgomery, Atlanta and Knoxville. The tour will be completed by visits to Niagara Falls, Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, the White Mountains, Boston, Saratoga, Albany and New York.

"We hope that the Emperor may receive as pleasing impressions from his visit as he has made by his presence among us, and we only add the wish that he may find time to enjoy at least one quiet Sabbath before he leaves, so as to be able to understand more fully the influence of the religious principles which are among the controlling influences of American society, and which distinguish our country from those in which priestly power usurps the place of genuine religious sentiment."—*N. Y. Observer.*

The same paper, in a later issue, says: "Dom Pedro has been sight-seeing in and around New York. He has visited the numerous city institutions on the islands in the East River. On Saturday before breakfast he visited the Western Union Telegraph Company's establishment, thoroughly in-

specting it, and spending some time in the tower viewing the city. After breakfast he inspected the internal economy of Columbia College, going from there to the Academy of Design. The Superintendent of the Academy, T. Addison Richards, conducted the imperial party through the galleries. At the Cooper Institute Mr. Peter Cooper himself did the honors, and in his progress through the various departments of the Art School the Emperor was presented with a wood block executed by one of the lady pupils, and a number of proof impressions of their works. After a visit to the Astor Library, the party returned to the Buckingham Hotel.

"He spent Sunday in visiting Harlem Bridge, attending the Catholic church of St. John the Evangelist, dining and driving and visiting Gilmore's Garden in the evening. On Monday morning Dom Pedro visited the New York Institution for the instruction of the Deaf and Dumb. He seemed much interested in all that he saw, and made many inquiries. One of the deaf mutes, a highly cultivated lady, welcomed him as follows: 'I am most happy to aid in extending a welcome to Dom Pedro II. of Brazil, not because he is an emperor, but because during the whole of his long reign his manhood has become him better than his crown. As the only American sovereign he seems nearer to us than any ruler of the Old World, and his sway in the great 'Land of the live coal' has been more nearly in accordance with the spirit of our institutions than that of many a ruler elected by the people. It is unfortunate that his visit to us should be at a time when most of our pupils are at their homes, for I am sure he would be interested in an assembly such as daily gathers within these walls, and which for number has not its peer in the whole world. True, we have specimens here before him, but a cup of water impresses one differently from an Amazon or a Niagara.' Other pupils exhibited their progress in intellectual culture and in mechanical pursuits.

"On Monday evening a special meeting of the American

Geographical Society was held at Chickering Hall, the occasion being the reception tendered to the Emperor of Brazil; Dr. A. Petermann, of Gotha, the German geographer; Dr. E. A. Nordenskjold, of Stockholm, the Arctic explorer; and Dr. C. H. Berendt. The house was crowded with a large and brilliant throng of ladies and gentlemen. Addresses were made by Judge Daly, Bayard Taylor and Dr. I. I. Hayes, papers were read by Dr. Berendt and Dr. A. Petermann; and Dom Pedro, upon being elected a member of the Society, read an address as follows:

"'Although sincere gratitude's voice is always silent, I will not hesitate to utter my thoughts to the American Geographical Society for the honor it confers on me in the presence of men so prominent in geographical science, and such indefatigable explorers of a region where man, rivaling as it were with nature, feels that labor is his greatest glory and more solid base of happiness. In so solemn an occasion, however, it is my duty to express how in my country we prize geographical studies, which will bring to light its elements of wealth, and will secure for it—I speak as a Brazilian, but without partiality—a future brilliant and useful to all nations with which Brazil has always endeavored to maintain cordial friendship. I trust the American Geographical Society will allow me to send here a feeling adieu to all the people of the United States, who welcomed me with so much kindness, and to explain to them at the same time how sorry I am that a motive, doubly regretable, has not permitted my remaining longer among them, to see and examine as much as I desired, notwithstanding the means employed by this great nation to overwhelm time.'"

XXI.—The Amazon, and its Wonderful Valley, Brazil and the Brazilians. The Republic of Venezuela.

"The valley of the Amazon is the great forest of the globe. This mighty river, rising in the small mountain lake of Lauricocha, only sixty miles from the Pacific, runs clear across the breadth of the continent, almost on the line of the equator, and empties into the Atlantic. Its whole length is 2,740 miles, following its windings, or 2,050 miles in a straight line. From north to south its tributaries stretch 1,750 miles. At a distance of 2,000 miles above its mouth it has a breadth of a mile and a half, afterwards it spreads to ten miles, then expands until it presents to the Atlantic a front of one hundred and eighty miles. The lake which is the source of the main stream lies just below the limits of perpetual snow. For the first five hundred miles the stream flows through a deep valley, before reaching the level of the great plain.

The region drained by the Amazon dwarfs that of any other river. The Mississippi drains an area of a million and a quarter square miles, the Amazon almost twice as much, a space equal to two-thirds of all Europe. Into this basin the United States might be packed without touching its boundaries. It would hold the basins of the Mississippi, the Nile, the Danube, and the Hoang-Ho."—*Hartwig's Polar and Tropical Worlds.*

Of the basin of the Amazon Agassiz says, "Its woods alone have an almost priceless value. Nowhere in the world is there finer timber, either for solid construction or for works of ornament. The rivers which flow past these magnificent forests seem meant to serve first as a water power for the saw-mills which ought to be established on their borders, and then as a means of transportation for material so provided; yet all the lumber used is brought from Maine.

Setting aside the woods as timber what shall I say of the mass of fruits, resins, oils, coloring matter, textile fabrics, which they yield? What surprised me most was to find that a great part of this region was favorable to the raising of cattle. An empire might esteem itself rich in any one of the sources of industry which abound in this valley."

Orton says of this valley of the Amazon: "It possesses the most agreeable and enjoyable climate in the world, with a brilliant atmosphere only equaled by that of Quito, and with no changes of seasons. Life may be maintained with as little labor as in the garden of Eden. Perhaps no country in the world is capable of yielding so large a return for agriculture. Nature, evidently designing this land as the home of a great nation, has heaped up her bounties of every description; fruits of richest flavors, woods of the finest grain, dyes of gayest colors, drugs of rarest virtues, and left no sirocco or earthquake to disturb its people."

Travelers universally speak highly of the courtesy of the Brazilians. The empire of Brazil is a peaceful and promising nation.

"The Republic of Venezuela continues to advance rapidly along the path of progress under the presidency of that really extraordinary man, Gen. Guzman Blanco, who well deserves the gratitude of the friends of liberty and civilization, for what he has done in behalf of his country. . . . Everything, indeed, points to a bright national future as the result of so beneficent an administration as that country at present enjoys."—*New York Witness.*

XXII.—The Government of the United States.

1. Legislative powers are vested in Congress which consists of Senate and House of Representatives.

The senate is composed of two senators from each state, who are chosen by the legislature thereof for six years.

The house of representatives is composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states.

No person can be a senator under thirty years of age, or a representative under twenty-five years of age. To be a representative one must also have been seven years a citizen of the United States, and when elected must be an inhabitant of the state in which he is chosen, and to be a senator he must have been nine years a citizen of the United States, as well as an inhabitant of the state where he is chosen.

The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand inhabitants. Each state shall have at least one representative. The Vice President of the United States shall be president of the senate.

2. The executive power is vested in the President. He is chosen for a term of four years, and with the Vice President is elected as follows:—

Each state shall appoint a number of electors equal to the number of senators and representatives to which it is entitled.

These electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; and they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government. Then the President of the senate shall open these certificates in the presence of the senate and the house of representatives, and the votes shall be counted. The person who has the largest number of votes shall be President.

The President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He can make treaties, with the advice and consent of the senate. He can also nominate and appoint ambassadors, and other public ministers. He shall also see that the laws be faithfully executed. These are a few of the more important of his functions.

The President must not be less than thirty-five years of age, and must have resided in the country fourteen years. He must also be a native born citizen. Before entering upon his office he takes the following oath:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."

3.—The judicial power of the United States is vested in the Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may establish.—*From the Constitution.*

XXIII.—The Government of Great Britain.

"The monarch of England derives his (or her) authority in right of his birth; but the legislative or law-making branch of the government is vested in two separate and distinct bodies, called respectively the *House of Lords* and the *House of Commons.* The lords are called *peers of the realm;* the commons, *members of Parliament.* The peers are created by the monarch; the members of Parliament are chosen by the people. On the accession of a sovereign, he selects some distinguished individual as his *prime minister* to whom he delivers the seals of office; and this selection is made indifferently from the nobility or from among the people. The monarch is generally influenced in this selection by the known principles and opinions of the individual thus selected on some popular subject on which the nation is divided. If a majority of the Parliament is found on any question to be opposed to the minister, the minister usually resigns, and another is selected whose opinions are more in accordance with the will of the majority of Parliament. If the minister is supported by a majority of the House of Commons, and is opposed by a majority of the House of Lords, the monarch may at his option change the majority in the

House of Lords by creating new members, (or, in the language of the public prints, 'a new batch of peers') in such numbers as to outvote those who have opposed his minister. But if the monarch is disposed to support his minister, in the case of a majority against him in the House of Commons, he may dissolve the Parliament and order a new election. On the meeting of the new Parliament, if a majority of the House of Commons is still found to be against the minister, the minister, warned by the fatal example of his predecessors, resigns his office; and the sovereign, yielding to the popular will, appoints his successor from the ranks of the opposing majority.

"The prime minister of Great Britain is appointed immediately by the sovereign; who delivering to him the seals of office, commands him to form 'the cabinet' or executive council. The cabinet, thus formed, constitutes the counselors of the sovereign, and are responsible for all his acts.

"The House of Lords consists of all the five orders of nobility — namely, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons—who have attained the age of twenty-one years, and labor under no disqualifications; of sixteen representative peers of Scotland; twenty-eight representative peers from Ireland; two English archbishops and twenty-four bishops; and four representative Irish bishops.

"The House of Commons consists of six hundred and fifty-eight members; of which five hundred are sent for the counties, universities, cities and boroughs of England, fifty-three from Scotland, and one hundred and five from Ireland."—R. G. PARKER'S *Outlines of History.*

XXIV.—THE GOVERNMENT OF SWITZERLAND.

The present federal constitution of Switzerland which superseded the federal contract of August 7, 1815, and

changed the federal union of states into a federal republic, was promulgated Sept. 12, 1848. It provides that all the rights of sovereignty which are not expressly transferred to the confederacy, are exercised by the twenty-five cantons and half cantons.

Among the prerogatives of the federal government are the right of declaring war, of concluding peace, of treaties, and of sending diplomatic representatives. The formation of separate alliances between the cantons, without special permission, is prohibited. The constitution of every canton is guaranteed, if it is republican in form, if it has been adopted by the people, and if it can be revised on the demand of a majority of the citizens. All Swiss are equal before the law, and the former relation of subjects as well as all privileges of place or birth are abolished. All Swiss who are christians have the right of settling in any canton, and of acquiring full civil rights. All recognized Christian denominations enjoy liberty of religious worship. Liberty of the press, of petition, and of association is guaranteed; but the Jesuits and all religious orders and associations which are affiliated to them are prohibited.—*New American Cyclopædia.*

XXV.—Important Speech of Mr. Lefevre in the House of Commons on the changed attitude of England.

As evidence of the great change which has been going on among the influential classes of England since our late war, I will quote from the speech of Mr. Shaw Lefevre, made March 8, 1868, in a debate in the British House of Commons on the Alabama claims.

"In the future, friendship between the two countries must rest on the basis of mutual justice. The papers to

which he alluded were laid before the House in the autumn of 1865. When in Parliament, in 1866, Lord Derby stated in another place that he fully approved of the correspondence of Lord Russel and of the arguments by which he had defended the course of England. In that House no objection was made to the course taken by their late government, only one or two members having ventured to express incidentally their regret that arbitration had not been accepted. He himself having a strong opinion on that subject, had framed a motion early in the session of 1866, after consulting with a few who thought as he did, and having done so, he went about to see how it would be met by other members of the House. He found that if the discussion came on it would elicit so strong an expression of disapproval of arbitration, that after consultation with his friends he thought it better not to progress with it, feeling confident that the subject must come on again, at some future time, and in the meantime it was not wise to commit the House too strongly against it. If any thing at that time seemed more improbable, than even Household Suffrage coming from a conservative government, it was that they should offer arbitration for the settlement of the Alabama claims.

"Their whole attitude in their speeches seemed to render it impossible. But it seemed that office brought a sense of responsibility, which was wanting before. *Perhaps also the changes with respect to reform and to the mode of looking at American questions were not as unconnected with one another as might at first appear. The hostilities of certain parties in this country to the federal cause were due mainly to a dread of its institutions, to an instinct that in the success of the north was involved the success of popular government. It was homage paid to the American Constitutions. On the success of the north there followed an immediate necessity for an advance toward democracy here,* and it was only right that it should be accompanied by a very different tone toward America. He had no desire to taunt the honorable

members with either one change or the other. He rejoiced in both. They were both equally beneficial to the country and to the honorable members opposite, but it was right in estimating our present position that we should bear this change in mind."

XXVI.—Important Speech of M. Pelletan in the Corps Legislatif of France after the fall of Richmond.

It is well known, nor can it be forgotten, what the attitude of Napoleon and of the French Empire was toward us in the hour of our extremity.

It is, however, amusing to read of the conduct of the chief legislative assembly of France when publicly informed of the capture of Richmond, and the downfall of the Confederacy, in a speech by the distinguished orator M. de Pelletan. Though this was the great event of the age, all mention of it had been carefully omitted in the Emperor's address to the Deputies.

Thus did this advocate of liberty announce its triumph to its enemies:

"The speech from the throne passed over America in silence; your draft address maintains the same reserve; the Yellow Book itself contains on this subject nothing but a pure white page. Now it seemed to us that the American question was one of sufficient importance to be treated of otherwise than with reticence. However, there is now no occasion for discussion, because while I am speaking the news arrives that the victorious swords of Grant and Sherman have settled the question.

"Richmond is taken!" (Interruption.)

A Voice. "So much the worse!"

M. Pelletan. "The pro-slavery rebellion is crushed and the American Republic is restored in all its majestic unity." (Further interruption.)

M. Pelletan. "Do not murmur so loud, I conjure you; they may hear us on the other side of the Atlantic." (Exclamations and noise.)

Several voices. "Make an end of it."

M. Pelletan. "For the last four years North America has borne the burden of the most terrible civil war that ever ravaged a nation, and during the whole course of this cruel trial she never for a single instant entertained the idea of suspending liberty." (Ah, Ah !)

"She never dreamed of invoking the principle of public safety, or opening that door through which all political crimes make their way. But more; it has renewed its executive power under—we may almost say—the very fire of the enemy, and that without violence and without disturbance—(interruption)—and it has done this so orderly and calmly that this page of American History is the page of honor of the nineteenth century." (Confused and increasing noise.)

M. Pelletan. "President Lincoln"—(cries of "Divide ! Divide !")

"President Lincoln felt that he held the fate of the New World in his hands, and he lifted up his heart to the height of his destiny; he has abolished slavery (Redoubled cries of "Divide !") and he has restored the glorious American Republic."

(Confused and tumultuous noise.)

XXVII.—The Great Day of the Second Peace Jubilee.

The World's Peace Jubilee.—Sixty Thousand people in the Grand Coliseum.—Reception of the President.

The ninth day of the Jubilee (Tuesday, June 25, 1872) was the greatest of all. The day opened ominous of a storm, and the intermittence of cloud and sunshine were enough to frighten away the timid, but the attractions which the programme offered were enough to subvert all obstacles of the weather, aided by the fact that the greater portion of the seats for the affair were sold before the morning opened. . .

"The first musical notes which resounded through the huge edifice were those of the celebrated band of the Ninth Regiment New York National Guard, numbering eighty of the most skillful performers of New York under the leadership of Mr. D. L. Downing. . . Nothing of especial interest occurred in the morning out of the ordinary run of events. In the afternoon, however, the comparative quiet and monotony was transformed into a scene of bustle and confusion which has never been equaled in this or probably any other city on this continent on any like occasion.

"As early as two o'clock the corridors began to be filled with a jostling and eager crowd, and the auditorium was half full. . . At three o'clock when the opening notes of the afternoon performance were sounded, the gathering almost defies description. Nothing like it has ever been seen in this or any other city. Every available space in the great structure had an occupant. The crowd filled the corridors and overflowed both the aisles, climbing upon the timbers near the big drum, packed all the slips and made one grand living mass of fifty thousand people.

"The hearts of the executive committee were full of joy, and Mr. Gilmore was supremely happy. The highest hopes of the Jubilee projectors and managers had received a ful-

fillment which had hardly been dreamed of, at least not often. . . It was ten minutes past three when the expectant crowd, gathered at the westerly entrance of the Coliseum, were cheered by the appearance of the bannerets of the Lancers crossing West Newton Street Bridge. Colonel Ushers, the United States Marshal of this district, was in waiting to conduct the Presidential party to the municipal reception room. . . The scene at the President's entry was certainly in the highest degree imposing. The sea of human heads, the great chromo of colors of the feminine toilet, the decorations under the roof moved gently to and fro by the rain breaths drifting in through the open windows—and the indescribable hum which arose from the throng, all these were very impressive; but none so much so as the scene upon the stage. The chorus seats were almost fully occupied, and the ladies seemed to have adorned themselves specially for the occasion. From a distance the great sloping stage resembled an immense flower bed. In the centre presently blossomed a great red and blue flower, the Marine Band of Washington,—and by and by a line of red across the entire stage dotted with black announced the entry of the Grenadiers of England. The audience, though not fully comprehending which was which, cheered lustily, and the Prussians next appeared, their metal helmets shining brilliantly as they advanced down the long aisle. Close behind them came the nodding pompons of the band of Grandfather Thiers. The Prussians and French were drawn up at the rear of the orchestra, nearly in line with each other, the scarlet streak of grenadier ran down from them and joined them and itself to the marines, who, as the President and attendant gentlemen entered, burst into the familiar notes of 'Hail to the Chief.' All the bands joined in the harmonious welcome, and the audience was overcome with this preliminary melody. There have been few such spectacles in the annals of modern music; never any in the history of musical festivals in America. The inspiring welcome was rung out with

hearty good-will, and the people hardly knew which most to applaud, the bands or the President, who was invisible to most of them. The programme selected for the day was admirably calculated to show President Grant and everybody else of what material the Jubilee is made.

"It introduced all the elements brought forward at the previous concerts, including the several foreign bands which were assembled together in the same concert for the first time.

"The chorus, however, had comparatively little to do except to look on approvingly and applaud prettily the efforts of the foreign musicians. . . The assembling of the several foreign bands and the United States Marine band on the stage at the opening of the concert was of itself quite an interesting little event, and the appearance of the several organizations in their handsome uniforms made a striking picture. Owing to a slight misapprehension in the organ department as to the order in which the bands were to enter, Prussian ears were saluted by the strains of the Marseillaise, which was intended of course for the French musicians. 'Hail to the Chief' was performed by the combined bands under Mr. Gilmore's direction in compliment to the President, and the musicians then withdrew. The choristers, who seemed nearly as numerous as during the early days of the Jubilee, or at least the seats were nearly as full, sang with excellent effect the fine chorus from Handel's 'Judas Maccabæus,' 'See the conquering hero comes,' the bouquet of artists sustaining the duet. The national song entitled 'Homage to Columbia,' both words and music of which were written for the occasion by the distinguished vocalist Madame Ermina Rudersdorff was the next sensation. . . The song was sung by Madame Rudersdorff herself, the accompaniment being furnished by the Grenadier Guard's band, under the direction of Mr. Godfrey. . .

"The English band remained upon the stage, and under the direction of their accomplished leader, Mr. Godfrey,

gave a splendid performance of an elaborate pot pourri, entitled 'Reminiscences of Bellini,' which included many of the principal airs from 'I Puritani,' 'Norma,' 'La Sonambula,' 'Beatrice di Tenda,' etc., with solos from a variety of instruments, including the cornet played by Mr. McGrath, the clarionet by Mr. Spencer, and the euphonium by Mr. Lawford. In response to a loud encore, The Fest March from 'Wagner's Tannhauser,' was given in a manner which elicited a fresh outburst of applause.

"The great audience gave Madame Peschka Leutna, a hearty welcome, when she appeared in company with Mr. Charles Koppitz of this city to sing an aria and variations by Adam, to which Mr. Koppitz added a finely played flute obligato.

"Strauss and one of his most charming waltzes, the 'Kunstler Leben,' formed the next feature. As usual the famous waltz maker was received with great enthusiasm. The musicians seemed inspired to their best efforts, and this means, in reference to such an orchestra, very much. The waltz was played with gloriously fine effect and to a vociferous encore a response was made with the delicious Pizzicato polka. There was still another encore and this time the beautiful 'Blue Danube waltz' was elicited. During the performance of the Kunstler Leben Waltz Mr. Gilmore and Mr. Zerrahn took their places in the orchestra, Mr. Gilmore presiding over a pair of cymbals, and Mr. Zerrahn manipulating a bass drum. They stood beside each other. Zerrahn holding in one hand the music from which both were to play while he swung the drumstick with the other. Gilmore kept his eye upon the music before him, and played like an artist, while Zerrahn showed an ability to wield a drumstick, as well as he does a baton. . .

"The band of the Kaizer Franz Grenadier Regiment of Germany, Herr Saro, leader, took their places upon the stage at the beginning of the second part of the concert, and were handsomely received by the audience.

"As they entered the organ pealed forth the strain of 'Die Wacht am Rhein,' which appeared to be more pleasing to the national tastes than the previous selection. . . After the retirement of the band of the Kaizer Franz Grenadier regiment, the band of the Garde Republicaine of Paris made their appearance, and under the leadership of M. Paulus executed several pieces of music with accustomed skill. Their reception was extremely hearty and their efforts elicited tumultuous applause." . .

(After several pieces played by the French band and the celebrated Anvil chorus) "the well known religious hymn called 'Federal Street' was finely sung under the direction of its composer, Dr. Henry K. Oliver, and a large number of the audience united with the chorus. . .

"The 'Star Spangled Banner' was given in the same manner which made it so large a feature at the first concert.

"The colored Jubilee singers from Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, came forward amid much applause and sang two of the peculiar religious melodies of the South.

"The concert was brought to a terminus shortly before half-past six o'clock by an orchestral performance of a military march, called the 'Prussian Prize,' Mr. Gilmore conducting."—*Boston Journal.*

XXVIII.—Glimpses of the Evangelical Alliance.

New York, October 13, 1873.

The Evangelical Alliance is over. It has been a great and glorious gathering, whose influence will be felt as long as the Christian religion exercises its benign sway. By it a new and higher impulse will be given to earnest souls, and a grander unity to the Church universal. Your readers have doubtless read reports of these great meetings; but

possibly I may be able to give them glimpses of some of the scenes.

Let us go together to the Association Hall, on the corner of Twenty-fourth street and Fourth Avenue, so called because it is in the building erected for the use of the Young Men's Christian Association. The outside entrances are thronged with persons eager for admittance. If the meeting has already commenced the room is crowded, not a few being obliged to stand. The sides of the galleries are draped with flags of different nations intertwined in the flag of our country. On the platform are seated as noble-looking a body of men as one will often find. In the chair is Dr. Woolsey, late President of Yale College, whose great dignity and gentle courtesy attract the admiration of all. Among the foreign delegates are certain of the most noted; the others occupy the front seats of the Hall.

That tall man sitting to the right of the chairman, with an English look—his hair and whiskers inclining to grey, and having a very pleasant expression of countenance, evidently from his appearance a man of intellectual power, which is clearly demonstrated by his words, is the Dean of Canterbury. The younger and shorter man who sits by his side with no marked individuality in his appearance, reminding one of an ordinary business man, is Lord Alfred Churchill. Behind them, the old gentleman with a very foreign look, small in stature, with long grey hair and side whiskers, is the venerable Dörner, the leading theologian of Germany.

The young man who sits close by, evidently a German, tall, slender, scholarly in appearance, in the vigor of life, and full of promise for the future, is Prof Christlieb, of Bonn University, Prussia. This elderly gentleman, sitting behind, listening so intently, is Pastor Fisch, of Paris; that large and lion-like looking man, with brown, bushy hair, is Rev. Frank Coulin, of Geneva; those two noble looking men, with faces full of strength and benignity,

are Dr. Arnot, of Edinburgh, and Dr. Stoughton, o. London; that scholarly and refined face close by is that of Rev. Mr. Marston, of London. Besides these, are many other delegates, all bearing their nationality strongly marked in their features. Here, too, are noble representatives of our own country. We distinguish the well-known faces of Rev. Dr. Adams, Prime, Dexter, Hopkins, and other leading clergymen and scholars of various denominations, all evidently listening with great interest to the papers or discussions of the day.

Having, by dint of perseverance, looked in at Association Hall, let us go over to the other meeting, which is being held at the same time in the spacious Methodist Episcopal Church near by. We find this church also thronged by an earnest and highly intellectual audience. And, now, of all the meetings, which was the most attractive? Well, it is difficult to say, but, judging from the eagerness which was shown by the multitude, the meeting on Tuesday afternoon, Oct. 7th, was regarded with as much interest as any, the Sunday services excepted. Long before the time for commencing, the doors of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church were thronged to hear the famous pulpit orators, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, and Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker of London. The subject upon which they were to speak was, the best method of preaching. Mr. Beecher spoke with remarkable originality, force and beauty. Dr. Parker, who is a young man, perhaps not over forty, of great physical vigor, and with a loud and deep voice, evidently interested the vast throng of eager listeners much.

But, referring again to the Tuesday afternoon meeting, the multitude who were unable to obtain admission at Dr. Adams' church, though they were too late to enter, were even better fed than the others, for they were informed that if they would go over to Association Hall, both of the distinguished speakers would address them there, and they also had the additional pleasure of listening to an im-

promptu but most admirable speech from the distinguished pulpit orator, Rev. John Hall.

Among the most important and interesting of the papers read were those of Prof. Dörner, Prof. Christlieb, Prof. Leathes, Dr. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Noah Porter, President of Yale College, ex-Presidents Woolsey and Hopkins, and that of Rev. Dr. Storrs, of Brooklyn, which was heard by an immense and delighted audience, and universally pronounced magnificent. Before concluding, I will simply allude to the Brahmin, Sheshadri, whose simple, manly, heartfelt eloquence has interested every one. Wherever this convert from heathenism has preached or spoken, he has been listened to by large numbers and with the most earnest attention. His peculiar dress, consisting of a white turban, which he generally wore except when prayer was being offered, and a loose drab gown, open in front, disclosing a large amount of white linen, singles him out from all others. His complexion is swarthy, and almost as dark as that of a negro. His face is pleasant, and his voice clear and melodious. Every word which he uttered could be distinctly heard in the remotest part of the house. He represented in the Alliance the first fruits of India.

The address of welcome by Rev. Dr. Adams, was in every way worthy of the sublime occasion, the opening of the grandest religious convocation of the present century. Indeed, so noble has been its aim and object, and so harmonious have been its meetings, such an amount of talent has been collected from the different nations of the earth and united in the great work of effecting lasting union among Christian laborers, that the Redeemer's Kingdom may advance without let or hindrance, that these meetings of the Evangelical Alliance may be rightly regarded as the grandest religious convocation the world has seen since the day of Pentecost.

NEW YORK, October 14, 1873.

Although the week-day meetings of the Evangelical Alliance were of exceeding interest and importance, the Sunday meetings were of even greater value, not only by reason of their more sacred nature, being especially religious in their character, but as a proof and a sample of that union which it was the object of the great conference to inaugurate.

It was my privilege to listen, in the forenoon of Sunday, Oct. 5th, to a clear, forcible and spiritual discourse, preached by Rev. Dr. Stoughton, of London, in Rev. Dr. Adams' church, upon 'The Holy Spirit—his Personality, Presence and Power.' The grand idea of the discourse, with which it closed, was, that as through the benign influence of the Holy Spirit a closer union was now being formed between Christians, so this same mighty influence was ready and waiting to bless men with a spiritual awakening, and that he earnestly hoped such a glorious result would follow from the meetings which were now held. He desired Christians to pray earnestly that these gatherings to promote Christian union and harmony might not only accomplish that noble object, but might be instrumental in the salvation of thousands.

In the afternoon the Lord's Supper was administered in Rev. Dr. Adams' church. The circumstances were very peculiar. On either side of the officiating minister sat men of different denominations and of various churches. After Dr. Adams had made a few very appropriate remarks, the Dean of Canterbury, who assisted in the breaking of the bread, added some tender and beautiful thoughts. He was followed by the Hindoo convert, Sheshadri, who spoke with great earnestness, and with evident sincerity, of the wonderful love of Christ. Rev. M. Prochet, of Genoa, also spoke of the communion of saints, through their blessed Lord. Appropriate prayers were offered by Rev. Dr. Angus, of London, and by Bishop Schweinitz, of the Moravian church. While the vast congregation were partaking of the wine, symbol of

the blood shed upon Calvary for each soul, the pastor repeated from memory many comforting and beautiful passages of Scripture.

It was indeed a wonderful occasion, one which, in its significance and import, will have an abiding influence. Never before did Christian fellowship seem so real and actual as when the Dean of Canterbury, representing the great and illustrious in rank and fortune of England, and the Hindoo convert, representing the very ends of the earth, mingled at the throne of grace their supplications with those from all countries and all nations who call upon the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and in truth.

At an early hour on Sunday evening, the Academy of Music and Steinway Hall were crowded with those eager to listen to their foreign brethren. Perhaps some of your readers may never have been in the Academy of Music. To such, a word of description may not be displeasing. There are several entrances to this magnificent hall, which certainly is worthy of such an occasion as this. The stage extends across the entire front of the house, and is capable of seating two hundred people. The three galleries are semicircular, and rise one above the other. The sides are lined with crimson damask, fringed with gold. On either side of the room, fronting the space allotted to musicians, but which at meetings of this nature are occupied by reporters of the press, are twelve departments, separated by pillars and hung with damask curtains. These are considered to be the most desirable seats in the house. Suspended from the centre of the lofty ceiling, which is beautifully frescoed, is a magnificent chandelier, with three circlets of lights rising one above the other, the largest circlet being at the top. These circlets are connected by strings of glass prisms, which are radiant with light, and exhibit the colors of the rainbow. The entire hall is illuminated by this single chandelier, which seems a beautiful emblem of the light-giving presence of the Sun of Righteousness. Before the

service commenced, and while the audience was assembling, by a magic touch from some unseen hand, a flood of light was poured over the vast assembly.

The first meeting at the Academy of Music was one of great interest, as was also that at Steinway Hall, which was crowded to its utmost capacity. The addresses of the Dean of Canterbury and Sheshadri, who spoke at both places, seemed to have a peculiar interest to the audience. Toward the close, General Clinton B. Fisk being called for, made an impromptu address of great beauty and eloquence. One of the most interesting and soul-elevating features of these vast gatherings has been the singing, when thousands have joined their voices in such familiar words as:

"Blest be the tie that binds
Our hearts in mutual love."

Though the meetings of Sunday evening, Oct. 5th, were exceedingly large, they were exceeded in numbers and in interest by those of the last evening of the Alliance, Sunday evening, Oct. 12th. The Academy of Music at seven o'clock was filled to its utmost capacity. Even at that early hour, many were standing in the entrances, not being able to get even a glimpse of the speakers. The services and exercises of the evening were tender and deeply impressive. Mayor Havemeyer presided, and Rev. Dr. Crosby introduced the speakers, whose voice, clear and full, could be heard by every one with the utmost distinctness. In fact, there was little difficulty in hearing any of the speakers.

Appropriate farewell addresses were given by several of the delegates. Among the most impressive were those of Dr. Arnot, of Edinburgh, Professor Christlieb, of Bonn, Prussia, Sheshadri, and the Dean of Canterbury, who made the closing addresses of the delegates.

Rev. Dr. Schenck, of the Episcopal church, a worthy representative of the evangelical portion of that body, then gave the parting address, which was uttered in a clear and

sonorous voice, and which, by its lofty eloquence and its affectionate spirit, made a most happy impression upon all.

Rev. Dr. Adams then led the vast congregation in prayer, kneeling before the Sovereign of the universe, and committed the strangers whose presence in this land had been so delightful to all earnest souls, to the guardian and protecting care of Him who controls the winds and the waves. After benediction by Bishop Janes, of the Methodist church, the people dispersed, and the work of the Evangelical Alliance was finished.

Thus terminated a meeting which, on account of the harmony of its proceedings and the grandeur of its object, will long be remembered."—J. F. A., in *Vermont Chronicle.*

XXIX.—The opening of the Centennial Exposition.

"Philadelphia, May 10.—The American people may justly congratulate themselves. Energy, and a power of steady endurance rarely so tested before, have atoned for all manner of indifference, negligence, and accidental hinderance; the elements, threatening until the last moment, became gloriously benign and radiant; a hundred thousand people met under the dappled dome of the May-day sky, and with prayer, grand orchestral music, and still grander choral song, brief and fitting official formalities, and the closing jubilation of bells, cannon, instruments, and voices, the International Exhibition of 1876 was opened. It was a superb, a wonderful success. No such spectacle has ever before been witnessed in this country — probably none grander in all the essentials of expressive show anywhere in the world, since the triumphs of the Cæsars came to an end. Thus auspiciously begins the commemoration of the Centennial year.

THE MORNING.

Never were the aspects of a day so earnestly scanned. The great crowds of last night, as they gathered in the corridors of hotels, under awnings, and in the abundant places of refreshment near the grounds, talked of little else than the weather. It rained dismally, and the wind almost took on the rawness of a northeast storm. But at the Transcontinental (which was filled to its utmost capacity), I met Probabilities, just arrived from Washington.

To my daring question, "What will be the weather tomorrow?" he answered in the calmest tone: "Possibly cloudy—certainly no rain." With that oracle I made two members of the Centennial Commission happy.

The early morn was overcast, and the blithe music of the chimes floated far over the land in the damp air. But the veil slowly lifted; the wind came out of the west, and specks of clear blue began to brighten and broaden. By eight o'clock the transformation was complete; the leaden canopy of the past two days receded into a soft pearl-grey background of air, against which the sun-touched banners sparkled like tongues of flame. There was no longer a doubt of the day. People were already arriving from all quarters of the compass; in fact, they seemed to spring up out of the ground in every variety of ready-made costume. Every street car was bursting with its load; country vehicles, decorated wagons, and private carriages thronged Belmont-avenue and that of the Republic at an early hour. Governors of States, officers of the army and navy, foreign and native exhibitors, happy guests with tickets, and contented guests with silver half-dollars in their pockets, gentlemen, scholars, bummers, and adventurers jostled each other in whatever direction one looked. When I compared the street-pictures with those offered by Vienna, on that raw and chilly May morning of 1873, I knew that the scene

to come would surely make me proud and satisfied as an American.

INSIDE THE GROUNDS.

At nine o'clock, when the gates were opened to the public, the inward flow began, but it was some time before it kept pace with the increasing flow from without. The invited guests were first admitted half an hour later at the southern entrance of the Main Building: but when I reached that point only a few minutes afterward, I found such a crowd of dignitaries with their ladies, chorus-singers, musicians and officials connected in some way with the Exhibition, that both time and endurance were required to pass the gate. Only one door of the building was opened, and hundreds of gentlemen and ladies surged and perspired for some time under the portal before they could reach the shadowy quiet of the interior. From the opposite portal, on the northern side, our way passed under the great platform erected for the orchestra and chorus—a cool, dark passage, out of which we emerged into a bath of sunshine, and a vision of startling, almost stunning character. An innumerable crowd on either hand, kept back by ropes and lines of policemen, which swayed out until they nearly touched in the centre, and blocked our passage; the two Pegasuses, their ugliness hidden under masses of climbing and clinging humanity; the rising platform and whole front of the Memorial Hall equally heaped and crowned, the 900 singers and 200 musicians getting into place in the rear; lines of men clear against the sky, on every roof and pinnacle—these were the first prominent features of the view. Reaching the platform at last, where Mr. Dixey, the Master of Ceremonies, and a score of efficient aids, set the thronging guests to order, I found the best possible situation for studying the scene more in detail.

VIEWS FROM THE PLATFORM.

There is no great public spectacle in my memory with which I can compare it. The parallel lines of the two halls framed the picture on the north and south ; but to the east and west, over a few detached buildings, there was only a fringe of pale green tree-tops against the sky. All this space, nearly half a mile in length by at least two hundred and fifty yards in breadth, seemed to be filled with people. The greatest crowd within view at any time could not have been much less than 100,000 persons.

It was already evident that the thoughtless eagerness of the masses to get nearer the central point of interest would lead to trouble, if not to danger. The space reserved for the Press, immediately under the speaker's platform, was invaded by hundreds who broke through the lines, and reporting soon became anything but a pleasant occupation. It seemed quite impossible to restrain the tremendous impulse of the crowd. Gen. Hawley, prominent by his strong, manly face, a little pale from the weight of the responsibility resting on him, gave a few quiet orders, the effect of which was soon visible. It seemed as if the efforts of the single line of policemen to stay the surging mass and the slowly stretching rope would be like Mrs. Partington's attempt to mop up the Atlantic Ocean ; but they worked manfully, and all together, and the avenue for guests became clear again. The unhappy spectators in front could not really help themselves ; each man was the head of a line, a thousand men deep, resting upon him. Had they not sincerely respected the authority which restrained them, they might have instantly swept away the representatives of the law ; it was like a strong horse submitting to the will of a child. When the first backward push was made there were screams of terror and suffering, and presently a man in a dead faint was handed over the rope. Fortunately, there was no more

serious accident, and I saw no signs of riotous resistance in that part of the crowd.

The appearance of such a mass of humanity was something remarkable. It took on a strange, enormous individuality, now seemingly agitated by a general tremulous motion, now writhing and undulating like the muscles under the scaly skin of a dragon. Out of the vast dark sea of heads arose the two granite pedestals, upon each of which some thirty or forty persons had climbed, and there were daring boys on the bronze backs of the horses, clinging to their stumpy wings, or perched on the heads of the Muses. One, who came near sliding off the bevel of the base (from which he would have dropped upon the crowded heads below), and regained his place by a feat of strength, was rewarded by hearty applause. The sun burned upon all with a sultry fire which denoted more rain in store; but every cloud brought a cool and grateful breeze from the West.

ARRIVAL OF GUESTS.

All this while there was a constant stream of invited guests from the Main Building, through the narrow lane between the two great masses of people, and up the steps of the platform. They must have numbered, in all, hardly less than 4,000; and a company at once so distinguished and so picturesque has never before been seen in this country. They came with an irregularity which was far more quaint than any intentional contrast could have been—Spanish and French officers, Japanese in cocked hats, Congressmen and Senators in full dress and the most nonchalant reverse, diplomatic uniforms, Egyptians, Norse, Chinese, ladies with lifted parasols, soldiers, and even broad-brimmed Quakers. Many famous persons passed undiscovered, but the people were sharp-eyed, and never failed to give notice of every one whom they detected. Gen. Sherman was one of the first to be popularly hailed; then, after a few politi-

cians, Gen. Hancock succeeded to the greeting. A little after ten, the Emperor and Empress of Brazil—the latter in morning costume of pale blue silk—came out from under the musician's gallery. Dom Pedro's fine, frank, intelligent face, and towering stature, were at once recognized, and he was heartily cheered along the way. He lifted his hat and bowed repeatedly, with a bright, friendly smile, as if he felt the existence of a hearty good-will among the people.

Not long afterward, a gentleman with a grayish beard had nearly reached the steps, when somebody called out: "Blaine!" and then followed a burst of cheers. Secretary Bristow was not recognized until after the ceremonies were over, when the call of his name brought an equal response. On the right, a man with a dusky face became conspicuous for his efforts to penetrate the crowd, and the air of combined strength and dignity with which he resisted its jostling. The policemen helped him over the ropes, somebody said: "Fred Douglass!" and he was loudly greeted as he mounted the platform.

There was a temporary interruption in the arrivals, caused by the irresistible rush of the crowd on the right, between the Main Hall and the bronze horses. The policemen lost their ground; a company of the Boston Cadets was sent to their aid, and for a few minutes there was a scene of great confusion. The Cadets charged gallantly into the very heart of the crowd; bayonets glittered, blue-and-white uniforms became scattered among the dark civilians, and the brave young fellows seemed to be getting the worst of it for a little while. A detachment of cavalry soldiers went to their aid, and a company of armed seamen from the Congress formed a wall on the opposite side. After that there was peace until the close. I could not learn that any one was injured, beyond the usual pommeling in such cases; but it is a marvel that there were not many deaths from pressure and heat.

THE CEREMONIES.

At a quarter past ten, Theodore Thomas turned his back upon us, lifted his arms and brought down the first crash of music. The eighteen national airs, however, only reached us in fragments; the wind instruments were equal to the task, but the strings gave only a half-audible hum. The piano passages were simply silence, at such a distance, and with such a multitude between. When "Hail Columbia" closed the performance, all eyes waited for President Grant to appear, but it was about a quarter before eleven when he came upon the platform, apparently from the rear, for I did not discover him among the arriving guests.

Gen. Hawley first addressed a few words to the multitude, which had an instant quieting effect, and Wagner's Inauguration March began. A good deal of it was inaudible; but you will have a report of its character from a competent authority, and I need not attempt to give even the semi-impression it made upon all who occupied the platform.

Bishop Simpson began his prayer in a low voice, which grew clearer and stronger as he proceeded. It was an earnest and fervent utterance, and the vast crowd, very few of whom could hear anything of it, were respectfully silent, many who were far out of ear-shot uncovering their heads. But when the chorus rose, and the first word of Whittier's hymn fell from a thousand lips, the pulse of the multitude began to beat. Strong, distinct, and sweet, the lines floated far and wide on the soft air, not a word indistinguishable. Mr. Paine's music seemed to me surprisingly fine. Mr. Sidney Lanier, who sat beside me, said: "It has the noble simplicity of an old Gregorian chant." Would that the poet could have been present! His earnest words never before entered so many souls, clad in such a glorious garb of sound. The impression was so deep and universal that the applause at its close became unwelcome to the ear.

Mr. Welch, in making his presentation speech, was heard only in the immediate neighborhood of the platform. His tall, erect figure and dignified head, however, was well known to the people, and they gave him three cheers at the close.

I wish some of the critics who were made so unhappy by Mr. Lanier's cantata could have heard it sung to Mr. Dudley Buck's music. The words suffered "a sea-change" into another tongue; the stanzas relieved each other, and unexpected dramatic felicities were recognized by the mind through the ear. I never before heard a chorus sing with the pure and changeful expression of a single voice. The choruses in Handel's oratorios, given at Sydenham twenty years ago, under Da Costa's direction, were surpassed by the performance of to-day. It was original in the perfection of the execution no less than in the conception of both poet and composer.

The effect upon the audience could not be mistaken. When Mr. Whitney began his bass solo,

"Long as thine Art shall love true love,"

every word, with its faintest modulation of expression, was distinctly heard by at least 15,000 persons. At the close, the applause was so great that the chorus, already under way, was suddenly stopped to allow an encore for the solo—a thing almost unprecedented, on an occasion of the kind. At the end of the Cantata, the thousand members of the chorus rose by one impulse, and gave three cheers—either for Mr. Thomas, Mr. Buck or Mr. Whitney, perhaps for all three. It was a thoroughly inspiring scene, and lent its fire to the remaining proceedings.

General Hawley spoke in a chest-voice, so robust and well managed that I estimate he was heard by probably 8,000 of the audience. His address of presentation was received with tremendous cheering. Then President Grant arose and stepped to the front of the platform. He has

grown quite stout of late, but looks well, and his face improved wonderfully as he smiled upon the crowd. There was a scattered, irregular fire of cheering until General Hawley gave the signal with a wave of his arm, and the great multitude shouted together. The President read his reply from a printed copy, in an ordinary conversational tone. I was within twenty feet of him, and I could not catch a single word. When he pronounced the Exhibition opened, the signal was given. A flag ran up the staff on the main building, the chimes began, the cannon boomed from George's Hill, and the orchestra and chorus pealed forth the majestic Hallelujah Chorus. The strong harmonies of the last, however, drowned all other sounds—if, indeed, any one could think of listening for them. It was just noon; the sun was shining, the air was full of diffused light, and all nature, in breeze and foliage and play of colors, seemed to join in the jubilee.

THE PROCESSION.

With the cessation of the chorus, Mr. Dixey took his stand, to arrange the order of the official procession through the buildings. Mr. Goshorn gave his arm to President Grant, who immediately gave his other arm to the Empress of Brazil. The Emperor followed with Mrs. Grant. There was, of course, no announcement of these chief personages; those that followed were summoned to their places. But the platform had become so crowded, and all the policemen so occupied in desperately holding back the struggling masses, that not even the diplomatic bodies could get into their proper places. The prescribed order of the procession was soon violated by eager American statesmen and their impatient ladies; presently members of the crowd which had besieged the Press, shutting out air and view, joined the current, and the line at last became so hopelessly mixed that I also trusted myself to it, much in advance of the proper place.

On entering the main hall, the distraction constantly increased. There were ropes drawn in some places; in others the exhibitors and their friends considerately kept their stand; but at every step there were accessions from *somewhere*, interruptions of the line of march, and finally a chaotic mixture, in which only the Presidential party was spared. The latter walked rapidly up the main aisle to the eastern end, then returned by the southern side aisle, taking a rapid glance at the American, Dutch, Brazilian and English departments. Externally, the American part was in tolerable order; but there is still a hideous waste of dirt, boards, packing-paper and straw, extending the whole distance in its rear.

In the western half, France, Germany, Spain, Egypt, Switzerland, Norway, and Japan were rapidly visited, and I believe all the Commissioners were duly greeted in passing. Before reaching the western entrance there was no longer a procession. Streams of impatient outsiders forced their way through the files of soldiers and poured into the Hall. The invited guests were separated, mixed, and tangled on every side, and only a stalwart guard of soldiers kept a little free space for the President, Emperor, and Centennial Commission.

I may say, generally, that the Exhibition is much further advanced than was that at Vienna on the opening day; that the show, while not quite so brilliant, is fully as varied and interesting, and that the spectacular effect is all that could be achieved in such a space.

The way across the open space to the Machinery Hall was kept clear by two files of soldiers, and when the party had entered the latter hall, the remainder of the task was accomplished without interruption. This was the closing, and, in many respects, the most interesting act of the opening ceremonies. In the centre of the great hall Mr. Corliss, proud and satisfied, stood beside his colossal engine. After a rapid inspection and the necessary instruction, President

Grant and Emperor Dom Pedro took hold of the separate objects (I never could understand machinery, and don't know whether they were cranks, valves, or wheels) and the force of 2,000 horses was smoothly and silently exerted. North and South America started the machinery of the world.

Here ended my vision of the great spectacle, and here ends, to-day, my capacity to write more.

At half-past four the withheld rain returned; but all was gloriously over. Those who sped homeward in storm had a picture of entire brightness to cheer their memories." *Bayard Taylor, in New York Tribune.*

XXX.—Immigration.

"From Ireland to America from May, 1847, to January,

"	1869	1,597,805
"	Germany	1,536,649
"	England	498,578
"	Scotland	100,595
"	France	74,405
"	Switzerland	62,608
"	All other countries	168,351
	Total,	4,038,991."

—*From Tileston's Manual.*

XXXI.—The Republics of the World and their Number of Inhabitants.

"Republics—	Population.
Argentine Republic	1,833,142
Bolivia	1,987,352

CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS—	POPULATION.
Guatemala	1,180,000
San Salvador	600,000
Honduras	350,000
Nicaragua	400,000
Costa Rica	135,000
Chili	2,084,960
Colombia (United States of)	2,990,000
Ecuador	1,040,000
France	36,594,845
Hayti	572,000
Liberia	718,000
Mexico	9,173,052
Orange Free State	40,000
Paraguay	1,137,439
Peru	3,199,000
St. Domingo	136,500
Switzerland	2,669,095
Transvaal Republic	300,000
United States of America	38,555,983
Uruguay	387,421
Venezuela	1,269,600
Total	107,353,389

—*Schem's Statistical Tables, for* 1872.

XXXII.—SOME IMPORTANT DATES.

"Charles Martel defeats the Saracens at Tours...A.D. 732.
Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the West..... 800.
The good Alfred becomes King of England..... 872.
He composed a code of laws and divided England into counties, hundreds and tithings.....
The University of Cambridge was founded by Edward the Elder in..... 915.
William the Conqueror and the Battle of Hastings....1066.

Conquest of Ireland by Henry II.....A.D.1172.
Magna Charta signed by King John.....1215.
The deputies of boroughs first summoned to parliament.....1254.
End of the Empire of the Saracens.....1258.
End of the Crusades.....1291.
Beginning of English parliaments.....1293.
Sir William Wallace nobly supports the liberty of Scotland.....1296.
Establishment of the Swiss Republics.....1307.
Robert Bruce defeats the English at the battle of Bannockburn.....1314.
Gunpowder invented.....1340.
Battle of Cressy.....1346.
Battle of Agincourt.....1415.
John Huss condemned and burned.....1416.
Jerome of Prague condemned and burned.....1416.
Paper first made from linen rags.....1417.
Joan of Arc brings victory to France.....1428.
Invention of the art of printing.....1440.
Ferdinand and Isabella unite Arragon and Castile....1479.
Battle of Bosworth.....1485.
End of the Moorish Kingdom of Grenada.....1491.
America discovered by Columbus.....1494.
Sebastian Cabot lands in North America.....1499.
The Reformation in Germany begun by Luther.....1517.
Sweden and Denmark embrace the Protestant faith...1524.
Peace of Cambray.....1529.
The famous league of Smalcald which was the formal banding together of nine sovereign princes of Germany and eleven free cities in defence of religious liberty.....1530.
The Reformation in England.....1534.
The Interim granted by Charles V. to the Protestants.1548.
The treaty of Passau and the establishment of Lutheranism.....1552.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24...A. D. 1572.
The commencement of the Dutch Republic.....1579.
The world circumnavigated by Sir Francis Drake.....1580.
William I. Prince of Orange murdered at Delft .....1584.
Virginia discovered by Sir Walter Raleigh .....1584.
Mary Queen of Scots beheaded at Fotheringay.....1587.
Destruction of the Spanish Armada.....1588.
Henry IV. [the Great] made king of France.....1589.
Presbyterian Church Government established in Scotland .....1592.
Edict of Nantes, tolerating the Protestants in France .....1598.
The Gunpowder Plot discovered.....1605.
Henry IV. assassinated.....1610.
Hudson's Bay discovered.....1610.
Settlement of Virginia by Sir Walter Raleigh.....1616.
Landing of the Pilgrims.....1620.
League of the Protestant Princes against the Emperor of Germany.....1626.
Gustavus Adolphus killed in the battle of Lutzen....1632.
The Solemn League and Covenant established in Scotland .....1638.
The famous Long Parliament meet the 3d of November.....1640.
The Irish Rebellion and massacre of the Protestants October 23.....1641.
Beginning of the Civil War in England.....1642.
Victory of Naseby .....1644.
The peace of Westphalia which terminated the thirty years' war.....1648.
Execution of Charles I.....1649.
The revolution under William of Orange.....1688.
Abdication of James II. December.....1688.
Battle of Blenheim .....1704.
Battle of Culloden.....1746.
General Wolfe takes Quebec 1759

Montreal and Canada taken by the British.....A. D. 1760.
Poland dismembered by Russia, Prussia and Austria..1772.
Battle of Bunker Hill. June 17 .....1775.
The Americans declare their independence. July 4 ..1776.
The surrender of Burgoyne. October 17.....1777.
League between France and America. October 30 ..1778.
Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. October 18 ..1781.
Independence of United States declared. January 20..1783.
George Washington becomes first President of the United States .....1789.
The French Revolution .....1792.
Robespierre guillotined.....1794.
Rebellion in Ireland .....1798.
Bonaparte declared first consul. Dec. 25 .....1799.
Union of Britain and Ireland .....1800.
Bonaparte declared chief consul for life .....1802.
Bonaparte crowned Emperor of France. Dec. 2 .....1804.
Battle of Trafalgar, and death of Nelson. Oct. 21 ..1805.
The British Parliament vote the abolition of the slave trade. June 10.....1806.
Battle of Jena and total defeat of the Prussians. October 14 .....1806.
Abolition of the slave trade in the United States. January 1.....1808.
Bonaparte divorces Josephine. January 16.....1810.
Population of the United States, 7,239,903.....1810.
War declared by the United States against Great Britain. June 18 .....1812.
The burning of Moscow. September 14.....1812.
The Spanish Inquisition abolished by the Cortes .....1813.
Commodore Perry captures the British Squadron on Lake Erie. September 10.....1813.
Battle of Leipsic. October 19.....1813.
Paris capitulates to the allies. March 30.....1814.
Napoleon sails for the Island of Elba. April 28.....1814.
Inquisition restored in Spain. July 18.....1814.

British squadron on Lake Champlain captured by Commodore McDonough. September 11 ..... A. D. 1814.
The British defeated at New Orleans. January 8....1815.
Bonaparte sailed from Elba, February 26,—lands in France, March 1,—enters Paris March 26.....1815.
Battle of Waterloo. June 17 and 18 ....1815.
Bonaparte landed at St. Helena. October 13.....1815.
The American Colonization Society organized Jan. 1 ..1817.
Commercial treaties between the United States and Great Britain and Sweden.....1818.
The first steamship sails for Europe. May .....1819.
A revolution occurred which gave a free constitution to the Spanish nation .....1820.
Population of the Unlted States, 9,625,734 .....1820.
Dom Pedro, son of the King of Portugal declared Emperor of Brazil.....1822.

The Era of Enlightenment.

Accession of Henry VII of England .....A. D. 1485.
" Henry VIII.....1509.
" Edward VI.....1547.
" Mary.....1553.
" Elizabeth .....1558.
" James I.....1603.
" Charles I.....1625.
Beginning of the commonwealth of England.....1649.
Beginning of the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell....1654.
Beginning of the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell ..1658.
Accession of Charles II.....1660.
" James II.....1685.
" William and Mary .....1689.
" Victoria .....1837.

A brief Rebellion Record.

Surrender of Fort Sumter, in the afternoon of April 14, 1861.

Battle of Gettysburg, commenced in the morning of July 1, ended in the afternoon of July 3...A. D. 1863.
Surrender of Vicksburg, 9 A.M. July 4.....1863
Fort Sumter repossessed by the Union, February 18 ..1865
Surrender of Gen. Lee and the close of the rebellion, April 9.....1865.
Death of President Lincoln at 7 22 A.M. April 14 ....1865.
Emancipation Proclamation, January 1 .....1863.

Wicliffe, the first translator of the Bible into English, and hence one of the chief promoters of religious liberty, died A. D. 1387.

The King James' translation of the Bible was published A. D. 1611.

Language cannot express of what inestimable value this has been to the world."—*From Chronological Tables of Tytler's History* (mostly).

